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SOUTH SCANDINAVIAN ROCK-TRACINGS

A SURVEY OF THE MATERIAL AND A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF LIKE
SCULPTURINGS IN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND

Introductory. The Rock-tracings herein considered constitute a type of figures sculptured mostly on sloping ledges of rock, throughout the Scandinavian North. They are found most extensively in the county of Bohuslän in Southwestern Sweden, and in the adjoining county of Smaalenene in south-eastern Norway.¹ They are, however, present in considerable number also elsewhere in the Scandinavian Peninsula and to a small extent in Jutland and the Danish Isles. Those of southern Scandinavia are, mainly at any rate, of symbolic character. These so-called South Scandinavian rock-tracings extend as far north as Tjøtta in Nordland, Norway. Somewhat south of this, at Bardal in North Trondhjem Province,² they overlap, on the same rock into the very different naturalistic type of figures, generally called North Scandinavian rock-tracings. Only the former type will be considered in the following pages.

The sculptured figures are oftenest seen on smooth gently sloping ledges of high-lying rocks, but also often on more abruptly inclined surfaces or even on the vertical wall of the lower levels of mountains; they are, furthermore, seen on the top and on the sides of large loose-lying boulders.³ Some figures are frequently seen on the slabs of Bronze-Age graves. The round hemi-spherical or ball-like depressions, usually

¹ The rock-tracings of Smaalenene are found in the southern part of the county from Idsletten on the Swedish border to Glommen (hence to Sarpsborg).

² Bardal lies in Beitstaden Parish in Eastern Fosen. This is inland, but near the Beitstaden Fjord. The western half of the Peninsula of Fosen, that is the coast half, three quarters of the way up, forms a part of South Trondhjem Province.

³ Tracings in general are always found near water. A marked map would show them dotting the coast line from Upland, Sweden, to Nordland, Norway. Where they lie inland the location is always near lakes or fjords.

called "cups" or "bowls," occur in considerable number also in megalithic graves, sometimes on the side-stone, but especially on the cover stone,—and here not only on the top but also on the under side of the stone.⁴

A figure may sometimes be found singly, i. e., only one on a stone, but this is rarely the case. Of Norwegian tracings⁵ known down to 1873, 164 in all,⁶ only thirteen are of a single figure. Of those later found and of those within Sweden single-figure tracings are hardly ever met with. They have usually been applied in larger or smaller groups, or, I should rather say, they are so found now. It is conceivable that the figures appearing on a single rock may not all have been applied at the same time. In a great many cases they could not possibly all be by the same man.⁷ It is perfectly clear that in some cases the various incised figures on a rock represent a considerable measure of time. Commonly there are ten, twenty, or forty figures; in some cases the number exceeds a hundred.⁸

There is considerable uniformity in the sculptures appearing; certain objects are met with in all regions and they are made the same way. There are, however, differences also, as in the depth with which they are applied, in the size of the figures, in the absence or presence of any effort at arrangement, and whether they are solid figures or made in contour; further also in the prevalence of certain figures in one place and of others elsewhere, in the tendency in one locality to cut groups of one figure, while elsewhere the groups are vary-figured. Bohuslän

⁴ That is on the top and side of the huge cover-stones of dolmens and passage chambers, or on the top and under side of the cap-stones of stone cists.

⁵ The term "tracing" is used not of the individual figures but of a tracing group, that is the sculptured rock where one or more figures are found.

⁶ Of these 144 were in Smaalenene. The list, with very brief descriptions, was given by O. Rygh in *Forhandlinger i Videnskabselskabet*, Christiania, 1873, pp. 455-470.

⁷ There are too many figures and the technique of some differs from that of others.

⁸ On the *Hvilkyke* stone in Tanum, Bohuslän, I count 156 figures. It is shown by Almgren in *GBF*, VIII, fig. 181.

exhibits without comparison the greatest variety, and the greatest massing of figures. In the depth to which they are cut they vary in general from a quarter of an inch to three inches; in breadth from one to three. But this may differ greatly on the same rock.

The types or kinds of objects figured are the following: cups or cressets, the single circle, or the group of concentric circles; the spiral; the four-spoked wheel, and the wheel of more than four spokes; the swastika, the triskele; axes, hammers; spears, bow and arrow; ships and parts of ships; a few vehicles, once a plow; the human form; the hand, foot-soles, shoe-soles; various kinds of animals, especially the horse, and other four-footed animals, also birds, and a few times a serpent; finally straight and curved lines or furrows, and various undetermined simple figures or groups of figures. Plates III and IV show a selection of the figures.

Of most of the South Scandinavian rock-tracings in the different regions there exist now excellent reproductions making possible their study also for those who can see but few of the rocks themselves. In fact they can perhaps best be studied from these.⁹ Scandinavian archaeologists and the artists who have worked with them have with vast labor and most painstaking care made them accessible to the student in gypsum casts and paper casts, drawings, photographs of drawings, and photographs of the sculpturings themselves from different angles and under different light conditions,¹⁰ in a way that I am not aware has been done for similar monuments elsewhere. The methods that have been employed have, of course, been the same as those that have been developed in connection with the reproduction of runic inscriptions.¹¹ Scientifically accurate

⁹ They are, of course, for the most part studied from these except in the case of new discoveries.

¹⁰ As in sunlight or on cloudy days, or by twilight, and even by artificial light at night. What could not be seen in daylight often came out clearly by twilight; lines that could not be seen in the general gray or black of the whole surface of the stone were discovered upon the application of water.

¹¹ As in the use of "runic paper."

and especially fine are the great corpus of reproductions of L. Baltzer for Bohuslän.¹² But the same emphasis upon showing the shape, the outline, the relative position of figures, incomplete figures, and every smallest detail, has also been striven for in all the publications of tracings issued in the various archaeological series since about 1880. We lack as yet, however, a similar work for the exceedingly interesting figured rocks of Smaalenene. It is to be hoped that the Norwegian Society for the Preservation of Ancients Monuments will be able in the near future to undertake this work for the sculptures of Smaalenene, before time has made further inroads upon them.

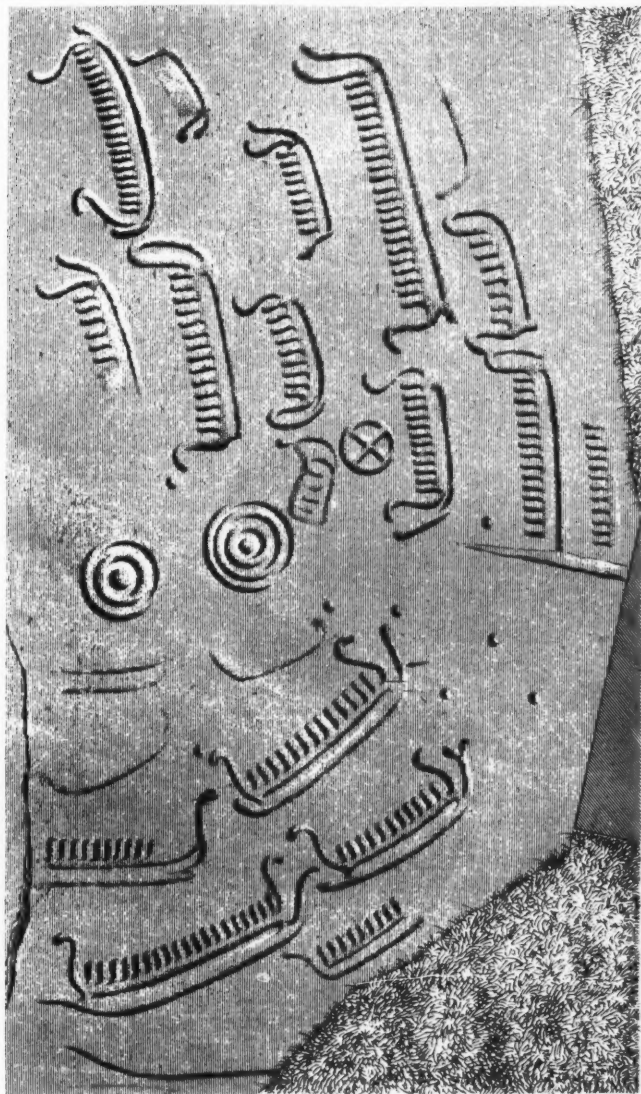
A view of the whole body of reproductions as they now exist reveals that cups and circles and certain smaller figures occupy a very prominent place among them. This is particularly the case in certain regions. However, these figures were not so prevalent in the early days of the study. It was chiefly ships, animals, and human figures that occupied the foreground among the tracings that were then known. The ships were so numerous sometimes that rocks with tracings on them were simply called *ship-rocks*. The farmer could tell the inquirer of a rock or a mountain-wall with *ships* cut into it; often, perhaps, he observed these figures because he recognized them, but usually the ships were especially conspicuous. At Dammen, Brastad Parish, in Stångenäs,¹³ Bohuslän, certain sculptured rocks are called *skeppshällarna*, "the ship rocks." And the farm *Sjebbervall* in Bottna Parish, Kville Hundred,¹⁴ took its name from the fact of the presence of such figured rocks on the farm. In the Bohuslän-Smaalenene zone as a whole the ships hold a dominant place, but human figures are also very numerous. Out-

¹² *Hällristningar från Bohuslän*. Its publication began in 1884 and it was completed in 1908, representing a life work of the author. The work contains 81 plates. A smaller work of selected rock-tracings was published in 1911 by Baltzer (see Bibliography). A few selections were used by O. Montelius in an article published in *GBF*, II, 1874.

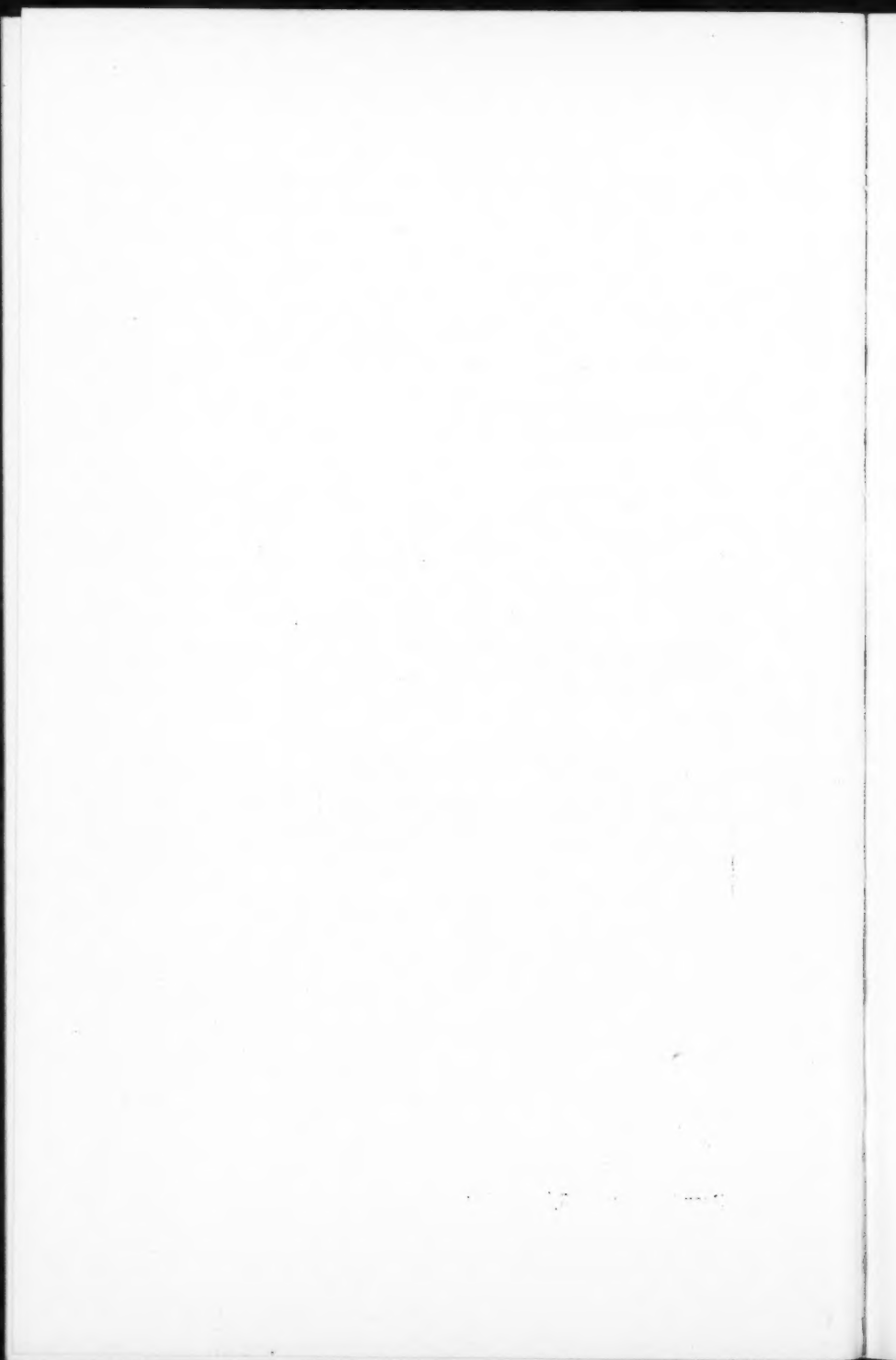
¹³ For the Scandinavian *herred*, *härads*, I shall use the term "district," though I am tempted to use the old term "hundred" as being more exact.

¹⁴ In Bohuslän. The Sjebbervall complex is shown in *Revue Archéologique*, 1875, Part 2, p. 207. It was first published in *AnfO*, 1838-1839, Table X.

PLATE I



ROCK-TRACING AT BØRGEN, SKJEBERG PARISH, SMAALENENE, NORWAY



side of this region human figures are relatively few in number. Also animal-figures are especially characteristic of this region, but they are numerous only in Tanum, Stångenäs, and Kville, in Bohuslän.¹⁵ From these three districts ca. two hundred and seventy animal tracings had been published as early as 1848; while for the rest of Sweden and Norway combined less than twenty were known, and not many more than that are known to-day. Now, it was the rock-tracings of these districts of North Bohuslän that first attracted attention. It was with these that the study began. And it was not unnatural that a study which had as its point of departure a body of material in which tracings of human beings were everywhere present but also always associated with ships and horses and other animals,—it was not unnatural, that the investigator should come to regard them as a kind of picture-script, whose aim it was to preserve to posterity a record of the great events in the history of the tribe. And so there arose a school of interpretation of the rock-tracings which we may call perhaps the historical school,¹⁶ and parallels were drawn from pictographs in different parts of the world as those of the North American Indians, and the somewhat more developed ones of the Incas of Mexico.

But sculpturings of a somewhat different character were also early known to exist down in the extreme southern part of Sweden, in Skåne, and a few that typologically seemed to belong with these soon also came to light from southeastern Sweden. Some of these were fashioned with such evident care for proportion, and general artistic effect as to give evidence of a very considerable sense for beauty and skill to represent it in sculpture on the part of those who carved them.¹⁷ Some

¹⁵ It may be noted that elsewhere they are seen especially in Skåne, Smaalenene and Eastern Fosen.

¹⁶ The effort to identify the tracing with some particular historical event is sometimes met with. This was the case now and then with those writers who dated the rock-tracings as late as the Younger Iron Age. To some of these writers the more elaborate configurations become a kind of lapidary record—an epic in stone—of deeds and exploits of heroes of the Viking Age.

¹⁷ The principal and finest one of these was, it seems, beautified somewhat by the artist who drew them.

scholars then came to look upon the rock-tracings as genre-pictures, reproducing scenes in the life of the tribe; and their interest was then as monuments of the art of the time to which they belong.

But there were others who thought their significance was neither of these; that in fact they had very little significance. They considered them to be nothing but exercises of idle hours, perhaps by members of the tribe in ancient times, but often perhaps in much more recent times, possibly made by workmen during the cutting of stone for some nearby building, or perhaps by children.¹⁸

Now we have noted above that certain small figures, as crescents and circles and wheels, are found among the rock-tracings everywhere, whereas humans and animals are in many regions rare or entirely lacking. And especially in Norway is this the case. Now I suppose it is perfectly possible that the tracings of Skåne and those of the Bohuslän-Smaalenene zone may have had a different origin, a different original purpose, and that those of southern and western Norway may be of still another origin. But this is hardly likely. However, the first Norwegian scholar to study the rock-tracings comparatively took a wholly different view of them from that already held by writers before him.¹⁹ The figures were to him religious symbols that were to be interpreted in connection with burial customs and the belief in life after death. And so arose a school of interpretation which we may conveniently designate as the religious school.

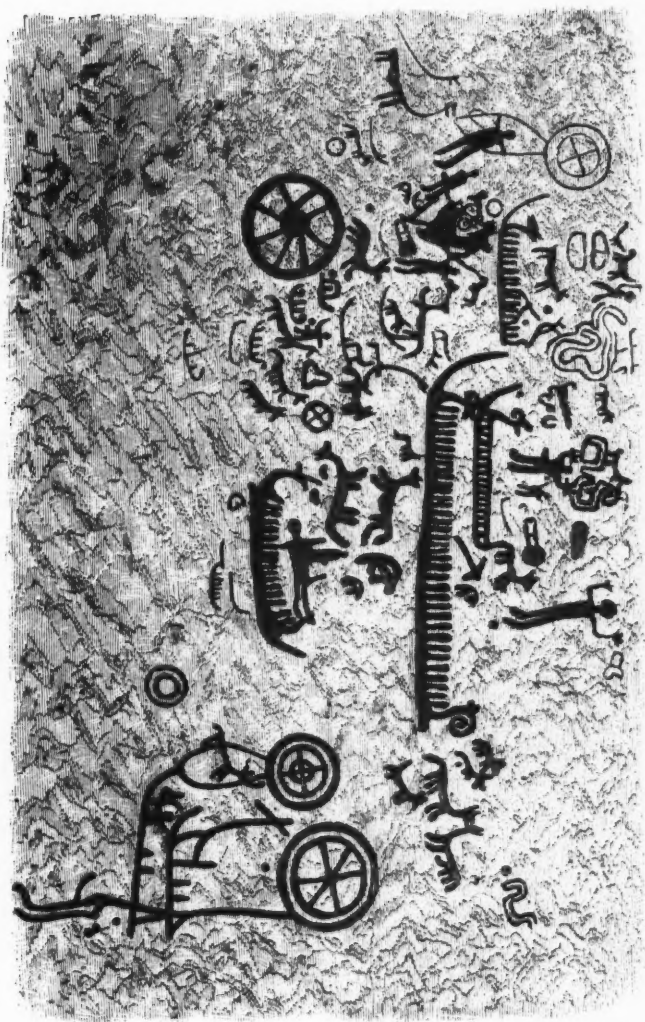
The Earliest Discoveries and Published Reproductions. In many localities it was more or less generally known among the peasantry that there were tracings or ship figures on certain rocks in the neighborhood;²⁰ and already in 1627 scholarly inter-

¹⁸ Thus N. G. Bruzelius held them to have been made by workmen in modern times, *Studier, Kritiker, og Notiser*, 1841, Nr. 7. A form of this view, or rather a combination of it with the second interpretation above, seems to be that of Gustaf Bolinder in a recent article in *Fornvånnen*, XVII, pp. 47-56.

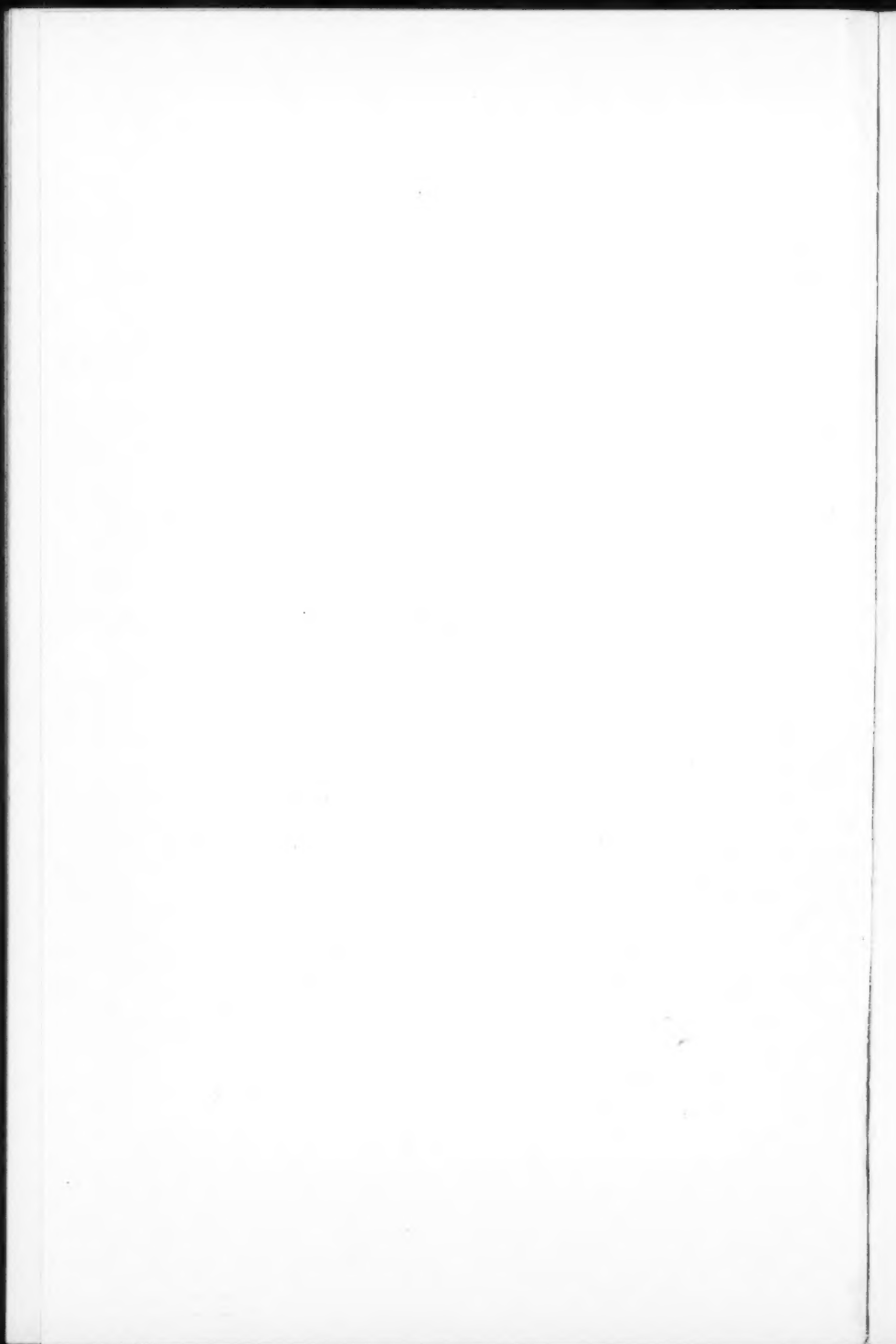
¹⁹ C. A. Holmboe in lectures delivered before the Scientific Society, Christiania, in 1860 and 1865, printed in the transactions for those years.

²⁰ See above, p. 4.

PLATE II



ROCK-TRACING AT STORA BACKA, BRASTAD PARISH, STÅNGENÄS, BOHUSLÄN,
SWEDEN



est was drawn to them. In that year Peder Alfssøn (Petrus Adolphî), at the time Lektor in Oslo Gymnasium, once a physician in Bergen, late in life Lawman of Trondhjem, sent to Ole Worm in Copenhagen an account of ancient monuments in Smaalenene and Bohuslän, and accompanied this with drawings. Alfssøn's manuscript is preserved in the Arnamagnean Collection, University of Copenhagen Library, as Nr. 371 folio.²¹ Among the monuments thus made public for the first time were, in addition to the Tune rune-stone in Smaalenene, the following rock-tracings; 1, one at the so-called Kvärnehed near Braateberg in Askum Parish, Hundred of Stångenäs; 2, one of animal figures, two humans and possibly shields, and further; 3, an elaborate one of human beings, four-footed animals, birds and ships, on a rock located half a Swedish mile north of Brastad church, at Backa in Brastad Parish, District of Stångenäs. None of these were published at the time, and it seems that Alfssøn's drawings of the first two groups have not been published. However, the large group from Backa was published by P. F. Suhm in 1784, in his "Fortegnelse paa gamle Monumenter i Aggerhuus Stift."²² It has since been published in *Göteborgs och Bohusläns Fornminnen*, I, 1874-77, p. 148, and as Figure 208 in Gustafson's *Norges Oldtid*. That a drawing of such a difficult object made at that time should be full of inaccuracies and that many lines and figures should have been overlooked entirely was inevitable. There are errors in the relative position of the figures, in their shape, in the omission of portions of figures, and in the omission of many smaller figures. Further the drawings are made with slender lines, so that the impression of primitiveness which the originals always give is destroyed in the drawing. If Alfssøn prepared his report about them, not in the presence of the rocks themselves but, with the drawings before him we can quite easily understand his view of them. It was his opinion that they had been made by workmen during the building of the Brastad church some

²¹ It is number 371 in Kaalund's *Katalog over den arnamagnæanske Haandskriftsamling*, vol. I. Also given in Bugge's *Norges Indskrifter med de ældre Runer*, I, p. I. See further *Aarsb.*, 1854-1861. Pp. 72-73.

²² In *Samlinger til den danske Historie*, Vol. II, nr. 3, pp. 215-216.

years before; he thought they might have whiled away some idle hours that way. That which I note particularly, then, is that the author of this first copy of a group of figures saw only the human beings, the animals, and the ships, and in one case a circle. Numerous smaller figures, that are no doubt of primary importance for the understanding of the rock-tracings as a whole, were not represented in the drawing.

The next tracing to be brought to the attention of scholars was that of a ship on a rock on the Mökleryd farm in Thorshamn parish, Östra Hundred, Blekinge, a drawing of which was published by Sven Lagerbring in 1746 in his *Historia Blekingiae*. It is a ship with twelve slanting lines which are assumed to represent oars. This is the so-called *Hästhellen*, "the Horse-rock," which is discussed by N. H. Sjöborg in 1792, *Utkast till Blekinges Historia och Beskrifning*. According to this author there are twenty ships shown on the rock. One hundred years after Lagerbring's single tracing was published, the Danish antiquary J. J. A. Worsaae published the next drawings of *Hästhellen*. They appear in his *Blekingske Mindesmærker fra Hedenold*, Copenhagen, 1846, Table XIV, with a separate table, XV, showing the size of one of the ships or figures. Twelve ships are here shown; the smaller ones having evidently not been observed.²³

Next in order we have the Kivik Monument. This is one of the most remarkable in the whole body of rock-tracings, and in point of excellence of execution perhaps the finest. The sculptured slabs in question formed the side stones of a stone-cist taken out of a large burial mound at Kivik, half a mile north of Simrishamn on the southeastern coast of Skåne.²⁴ The grave had already been opened as early as 1749 and whatever deposits it may have contained removed, thus destroying the evidence of the period to which the grave belongs which they would have furnished. Upon removal of the top stones

²³ Discussion of the figures, pp. 24-26. In Holmberg's *SkH* it forms figure 161.

²⁴ This grave was, I believe, first described by the botanist Karl Linné in his *Skånska Resa*, 1749, p. 127, who remarked the similarity between the grave and the *Hjalmars rör*, at Falköping, Västergötland.

a few years later it was discovered that the side stones contained numerous figures of human beings, a chariot with horses and driver, two four-footed animals facing each other, two series of standing objects with curved contour resembling somewhat a large kind of fowl, two so-called cross-wheels or circles enclosing a cross, and other figures. Among the latter are especially noteworthy two splendid examples of axes of the type of the early Bronze Age, which, with some of the other figures, seem to date the grave and the tracings themselves pretty definitely as belonging to the beginning of the second period of the Bronze Age or ca. 1600 B.C.

The Kivik figures attracted a good deal of attention and several drawings of them were made ca. 1752-1756, one by F. Feldt, another by an unknown artist, which was published in J. G. M. Meusel's *Der Geschichtsforscher*, V, 1777, and two made by Nils Wessman, which, it seems, were not published, but are preserved in the Historical Museum, Stockholm. The artist C. G. G. Hifeling made drawings of the stones,²⁶ presumably in 1779, which were published in a work entitled *Specimen historicum de monumento Kivikensi* by Anders Chr. Forsenius at Lund, 1780,²⁶ and these have been republished in most of the later illustrations of Kivik figures; the whole series is seen complete in Sven Nilsson's *Skandinaviska Nordens Urinvånare*.²⁷ Of early views about the Kivik figures those of F. Münter are to be especially noted, published in *Skandinavisk Museum*, 1803, pp. 283-298. After describing the figures he says: "Af denne

²⁶ There were seven figured stones. Of the four pictured in *Sveriges Hednatid* (Montelius), figures 126-129, the one whose enclosing frame is open at the top was later lost. One other which disappeared contained four horses and other figures; both, I learn, have recently been re-discovered. Another showed two wheels, etc., and a third a ship with a crew of six men.

²⁷ Illustrations also in Suhm's *Danske Historie*, Vol. I, 1782, p. 528.

²⁸ Part I: *Bronsåldern*, 1862, 1864, p. 5. They may also be seen in the following works: Bremer's *Entdeckungen im Alterthum*, I, 2; Holmberg's *SkH*, all the stones; *Revue Archéologique*, 1875, Part 2, p. 206, one slab; and in *SvfT*, X, pp. 194-195, four of the stones. Of the numerous works on it is one by Nils O. Wiberg: *Om Kiviksmonumentet*, a Lund dissertation, 1850. Brunius in his *Försök*, pp. 138-161, gives an account of views down to 1868; early opinions more fully in *SkH*, pp. 139-145.

Beskrivelse er vel saa meget klart, at her forestilles Følgerne af en Seir, og de Fangnes Skiebne," p. 290. He regards it as a Druidic Sacrificial scene: "det forestiller en Menneskeoffring hvor overvundne Fiender blive slagtede til Gudernes Ære," p. 298.²⁸

The first published drawings of rock-tracings in the Hundred of Sotenäs, Bohuslän, were made in 1792, also by Hilfeling; there are several from Valla in Tossene Parish, and of one rock near the Hede-Ulveskel road in Tanum Parish, Hundred of Tanum. These were published in P. Tham's *Göthiska Monumenter*, Stockholm, 1794.²⁹ Thus attention was for the first time called to the presence of such monuments as far north as Tanum. Among those from Valla are the figures of the so-called *Knippelsberget* with striking ship-forms, and other interesting features. Objection was made (with some justice it appears) to this artist's drawings of these and the Kivik figures on the ground that he had beautified them. Among these earliest known tracings I desire finally to mention that at Ourup, locally called *Skjæppestenen*, in Idestrup Parish, Island of Falster, Denmark. The National Museum, Copenhagen, once possessed a drawing of the stone dating from 1810, but this has since been lost. At the time it was found the stone served as part of a stone fence on the left-hand side of the highway between Nykjøping and the Ourup farm. On this stone there were incised six four-spoked wheels of varying size.

Investigations of Professor Brunius. It was not until 1815 that a systematic search for rock-tracings was instituted. Hitherto there had been rather fragmentary material to deal with, and there had been no very definite attempt to explain

²⁸ Forsenius, A. C., 1780, *Specimen*, etc., regarded them as representing a Roman triumphal procession; Suhm held that they were a memorial to Ragnar Lodbrok's son Ragnvald, who fell in a battle against the men of Skåne. Münster thought they were of Celtic origin. Most interesting was P. Wieselgren's view, that they represented a Nerthus festival.

²⁹ They were later published in Sjöborg's *Samlingar för Nordens Fornälska-re*, III, pp. 142-146, and by Holmberg, *SkH.*, Tables 31 and 32 (here those from Sotenäs).

the meaning of the rock-tracings.³⁰ However, in the summer of 1815 Carl Georg Brunius, then but twenty-one years old, undertook a journey of investigation through his native parish Tanum in Bohuslän for the purpose of finding and copying rock-tracings, and this investigation he continued during the two following summers. The net result of this was a collection of nearly one hundred drawings. In 1818 he made a report of his work to Chancellor Lars von Engeström, Lund University, but the drawings themselves were not published at the time. In fact only one of them, the *Lisleby* stone near Tegnaby, Tanum, was printed in *Nordiska Fornlemningar*, 1919, with two pages of commentary.³¹ Brunius believes that they are a kind of pictograph occupying a position in between the Egyptian hieroglyphics and Mexican figure-script. They are pictographs recounting happenings in the life of the tribe; but as such they are of two kinds; some of them represent scenes from the events themselves, others are purely symbolic. Of the former he then offers an example in the drawing from *Lisleby*. Here he sees two warriors engaged in a duel, each accompanied by his second; at some distance there is an on-looker. Another figure group on the same plate he considers to be a plowman at work. The symbolic figures are, e. g.: the birds stand for "threatening omens," the hollows or cups are inverted grave-mounds and represent "death," the foot soles betoken "landings," etc.

It is to be noted that Brunius' theory assigns a symbolic explanation to a large number of the smaller figures; but he finds their meaning to be allegorical, that is they are an essential element in the historical tablet as a whole, for they symbolize states of mind of the combatants, phases of the conflict or its results, etc. Also this part of Brunius' interpretation is met with among other writers long afterwards.³² For various reasons the mass of rock-carvings found by Brunius could not

³⁰ Among early attempts in this direction are to be mentioned those of F. Münter in *Skandinavisk Museum*, 1803, pp. 283-298, and R. Nyerup's *Oversyn over Fædrelandets Mindesmarker fra Oldtiden*, 1806, vol. pp. 101-103.

³¹ Edited by Brunius and Liljegren; it began publication in 1819 and continued to 1823.

³² And among early writers on the Kivik monument.

be published at the time. But the interest that they had awakened in him remained with him for life, and he dealt with them in various works, as in his *Antiqvarisk och arkitektonisk resa genom Halland, Bohuslän, Dalsland, Vermland och Västergötland år 1839*, published at Lund, 1839, and in the journal *Studier, Kritiker, och Notiser*, Lund, 1841, and finally in his chief work on the subject *Försök till Förklaringar öfver Hällristningar*, Lund, 1868. This work contained fifteen plates, most of which seem fairly correct as far as the individual figures or smaller groups are concerned but unfortunately the figure-complexes as a whole are not shown. I note here again the fact that the first significance of Brunius' journeys of investigation in 1815-17 was the bringing to light of the fact of a vast body of rock-tracings in Tanum Parish, Bohuslän, and the directing of scholarly interest to this parish as the real home of monuments of this kind. Brunius' own historical interpretation of the carvings was an effort to explain the hundred figure-complexes that he had discovered. These were large tablets with scores of figures on some of them and numerous groups of, apparently, warriors together with their arms and other possessions. And in one form or another this conception of the meaning of them continued to be held by most scholars clear down to the end of the century. Brunius was upon one important point more nearly right than other writers of his time, namely as to the age to which they belong and the manner in which the figures had been made. While others held that they belong to the Iron Age, and that they could in fact not have been made except with iron tools, Brunius maintained that they could be, and must have been, cut or rubbed with tools of stone, and that they go back to the Age of Stone and the beginning of that of Bronze.³³ To establish the manner of the execution of the rock-tracings Brunius regarded as the main thesis of his *Försök* in 1868 (p. 57). And he made the claim for expert knowledge upon this point that none should dispute, for he had for more than a quarter of a century been the directing head of large stone-cutting works, where he had himself by

³³ See also Hans Hildebrand in *AfSv.*, VI, 5, pp. 23-25.

way of experiment produced tracings like those on the rocks in the regions where they are found. And he showed, e. g., that sandstone and even softer stones were particularly serviceable for making impressions upon hard stones, as granite. As to the question of the comparison with the runic inscriptions that had been made, Brunius emphasized the great difference between the two in point of technique. The lines of the runes are slender and deep, while those of the tracings are broad and shallow.

New Discoveries in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, 1820-1840. However, since the beginning of these studies, the results of which have here been briefly sketched, many new discoveries had been made, and information about rock-tracings was spreading. It was now known also that there were similar monuments in Norway. I do not know just how far back in the century the first published accounts go that speak of foot-soles and hoof-like depressions in the rocks in various places in Norway. Their existence in many places was well known among the peasantry, and the lore about them was considerable. But the earliest account that played any part in the study was a report by Bishop J. Neumann of a journey in Sogn and Søndfjord in 1823, which was published in *Budstikken* in 1824, Column 584.³⁴ Then in 1828 W. F. K. Christie inspected and made drawings of these. It is the two groups of tracings of a total of twenty-four ships and two rings on two sloping rocks on the Leervaag farm on Atle Island, Søndfjord. The situation is halfway between Vilnes church and Souesund, where at Nüstvigen Bay was found the exceedingly interesting group of sixteen ships. Eight others were found in scattered places on a similar rock at Vardenæsset near by. Christie's drawings were first published in *Urda*, I, 1834, plate IV,³⁵

³⁴ *Urda*, I, p. 91. The Leervaag rock is also mentioned by J. Neumann in a report concerning a journey in Bergen Diocese printed in *Nordisk Tidsskrift for Oldkyndighed*, 1836, p. 256.

³⁵ The references to this always say 1837. However, *Urda* began publication in 1834, and the article and plates with the Leervaag rock-tracings appeared in the issue of that year. With the fourth number in 1837 the volume was completed and the title page bears that date.

showing the relative position and the shape of the ships in the first group, as well as the shape of the remaining eight. They are regarded by Christie as records in stone of historical events, the identification of which, however, he thinks no longer possible.³⁶ It is to be observed that in one case the figures are all ships, in the other also ships, but with these, two rings or circles. Christie supplements his account with a brief survey of simpler figures known from other parts of Norway, which makes a list of no less than eleven places. Among these may especially be noted that of foot-soles and round depressions on a rock near Moster church on the Island of Moster, Søndhordland, which the populace explained as "the marks of human hands, knuckles, and elbows."³⁷

In 1834 there was added a second Danish find, namely the Herrestrup stone from Grevinge Parish, District of Od, in the Island of Sealand. On the top and on one side of this huge cover-stone of a dolmen were observed a number of figures, comprising three four-spoked wheels and three ships with crew strokes. These figures were published as Plate X in *Annaler for nordisk Oldkyndighed*, 1842-1843.³⁸ The tracings are here exceedingly shallow, and those of the ships were not at first observed. The figures are of the simplest ship-type of a curved line and rowers indicated by short lines; the combination of wheel and ship in this very primitive group is interesting and significant. Then in 1837 came to light the Ullerup stones, Northern Jutland. They are two slabs of a passage grave of the Stone Age. On these are seen the incised figures of a ship, an animal, a four-spoked wheel, a six-spoked wheel, a man

³⁶ Neumann's more definite identification may be found in *Urda*, II, pp. 12-13.

³⁷ The other places mentioned are Smaalenene, Ringerike, Drammen, Kongsberg, Christiansand, Lister, Mandal, Romsdal and Stjørdalen.

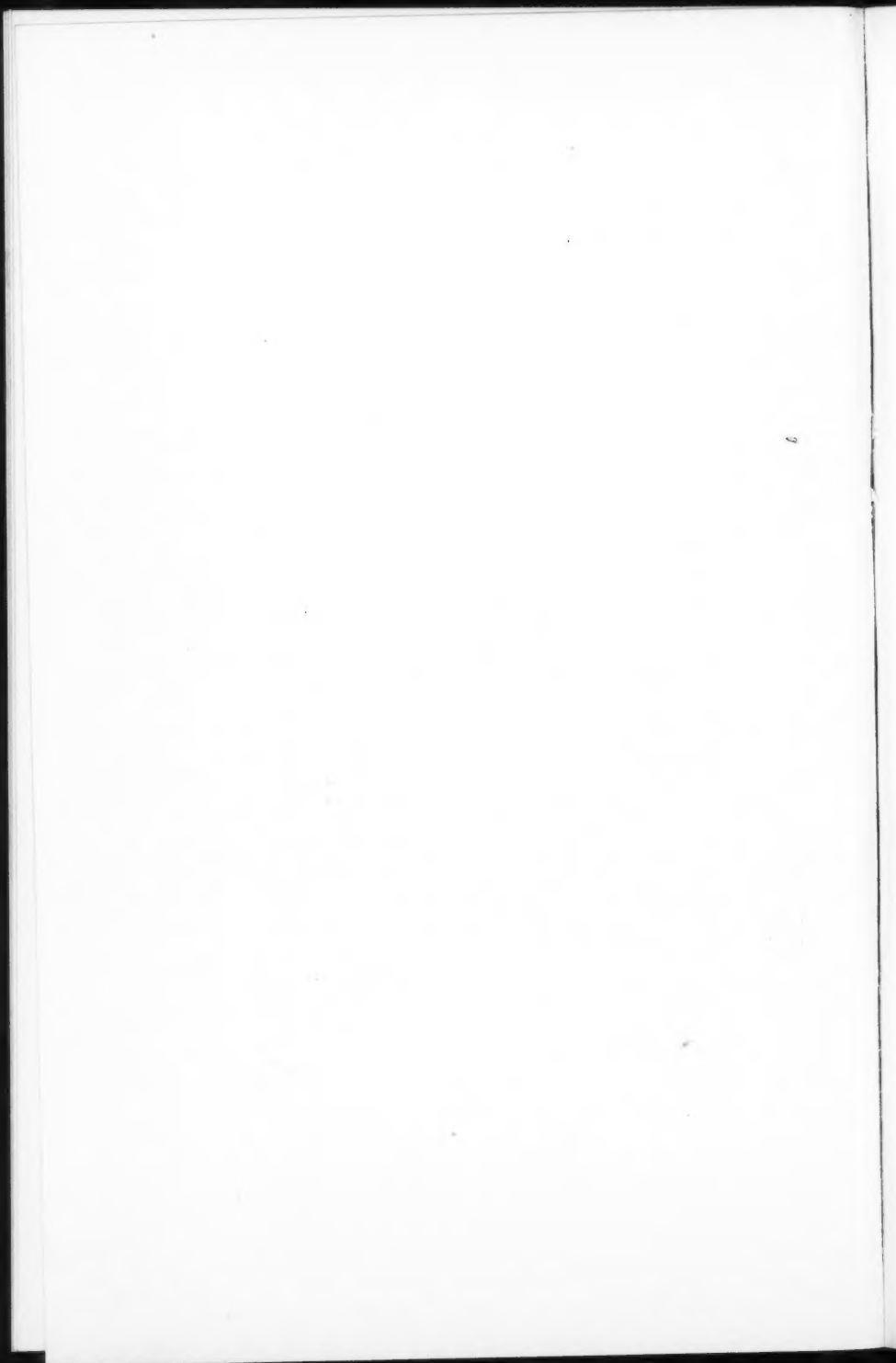
A tracing of circles was reported from Hafslo, Inner Sogn, Norway, by J. Neumann in 1836, *NTO*, pp. 233-234. They appeared on a slab taken from a grave of which he says: "8 Alen under dens overflade (var) en firkantet Grav bedækket med en Skifersteenshelle, hvorpaa var udgravet nogle temmelige regelmæssige Snirkler." I have not seen any published drawings of these and Nicolaysen does not mention it in his *Norske Fornlevninger under Hafslo*, pp. 456-458.

³⁸ They are also shown in *SkH*, Plate A-B, figure 24, and in *Revue Archéologique*, l.c. p. 206.

PLATE III



CUP AND WHEEL FIGURES FROM SCANDINAVIAN ROCK-TRACINGS



with outstretched arms, and other figures. A good drawing of these was made at the time by J. C. H. Steenstrup, which is reproduced in F. Magnussen's *Runamo og Runerne*,³⁹ together with Steenstrup's description of them.

The first publication of rock-tracings from Östergötland, Sweden, also dates from 1837. They are those of Gärstad, Rystad Parish, District of Åkerbo, drawings of which, furnished by Lektor Wallman of Linköping, were published in Rafn's *Antiquitates Americanae* of that year as Table XII (the two top left-hand figures). Better are those by C. F. Nordenskiöld in *Östgöta Fornminnen*, 1875.⁴⁰ The latter differs considerably from the earlier one both in the shape and the relative position of figures. The prominent features are cups, four-spoked wheels, and a mass of angular hook-like objects. It is clear that these tracings contain both compound and reduced figures, and there is a square object made with cups, and a circle similarly made. Ships are here few, but it seems to me that the ships are actually represented symbolically by the hood-like objects corresponding to prows (and sterns) of ships. Finally the number of rock-tracings known within Sweden were materially increased in 1837 by L. Åberg's discoveries of fifteen such in Stångenäs, Bohuslän, and in 1838 of four from the Hundred of Kville, Bohuslän. Drawings of all these were published by Åberg in the *Annaler* for 1838-39.⁴¹ They show a great variety of figures, some of them are among the finest of the Bohuslän collection. The unusual compound ones may be especially mentioned, as the concentric wheel-circles and the figure of three wheels connected by three furrows; the variety of ship forms is noteworthy.

The Material at the Present Time. The foregoing survey takes us to the year 1839. It would be wearing to follow up further the individual discoveries. When Holmberg published his large illustrative work in 1848, which aimed to be complete,⁴² he was able to list 142 for Bohuslän, 18 for the rest of

³⁹ 1841. Talbe VII, figures 5 and 6; description p. 519.

⁴⁰ Pp. 34 and 103.

⁴¹ Plates V-VIII of the former, and IX-X of the latter.

⁴² It was, however, not quite complete.

Sweden, 2 for Denmark and 2 for Norway. Of the 142 in Bohuslän 61 belonged to Tanum Parish alone. There are 28 for Stångenäs, 19 for Sotenäs, 16 for Vette, 10 for Kville, and 3 for Tunge. Also at the present time Tanum Parish comes first; it is almost literally true that here every rock that was suitable for the purpose has figures inscribed upon it. To-day there are known, and casts made of 267 numbered rock-tracings in the Division of Tanum, of which 265 are in Tanum Parish. We can get some idea of the mass of figures here found if we bear in mind that nearly every tracing is of a large group, commonly as many as thirty or forty figures on one, in a number of cases over a hundred. In other parts of Bohuslän County there are numbered tracings as follows, taking the districts from the North: Vette, 16,⁴³ Tanum, as above 267, Kville, 65,⁴³ Sotenäs and Stångenäs together, 98, Tunge 3,⁴³ and in South Bohuslän, that is south of Gullmaren Fjord, Tjörn, 25, farther south ca. 20. Here the southernmost rock-tracing so far found is one at Otterbäcken, Askim Parish, District of Sävedal, not far from the city of Gothenburg. The tracings here are almost exclusively of cups and ships, with a few foot-soles, but the three main types of ships are represented. The limitation to these three figures applies also to North Bohuslän as far up as Lane Hundred, with the foot-sole occupying a very prominent place. Thus in Langelanda Parish, Örust Island,⁴⁴ there is a very unique one of fifteen soles and sixty-five cups. The complexity of the Tanum type is nowhere evidenced.

Outside of Bohuslän, Sweden has, perhaps somewhat over fifty rock-tracings, for the most part in Östergötland⁴⁵ and Skåne,⁴⁶ with five in Upland,⁴⁷ three in Sörmland,⁴⁸ seven in

⁴³ So in *SkH*. I do not know of any later discoveries here.

⁴⁴ In *Östra Division*.

⁴⁵ See especially Emil Hildebrand: *AtfSv*, II, pp. 417-432.

⁴⁶ The interesting groups at Järrestad are discussed by N. G. Bruzelius, *AtfSv*, VI, 6, pp. 1-22.

⁴⁷ See "Upplands Hällristningar" by Otto von Friesen and Gunnar Ekholm in *UpplT*, XXX (1915), pp. 169-192, with excellent illustrations.

⁴⁸ *The Tuna Stone*. See O. Montelius: *SufT*, X, pp. 189-204, with excellent illustrations.

PLATE IV



CUP AND WHEEL FIGURES FROM SCANDINAVIAN ROCK-TRACINGS WITH SELECTED
ADDITIONAL FIGURES



Vestergötland,⁴⁹ two in Dalsland,⁵⁰ two in Värmland, and one in South Småland. Those in Upland are almost exclusively of ships, once with cups; there is one with five foot-soles and shoe-soles. In Sörmland it is the same three figures mainly, likewise in Dalsland;⁵¹ in Värmland cups are ranged about ships.⁵² Finally a rock-tracing has recently been found also on the Island of Gothland⁵³ and one on the Island of Öland.

Only five actual tracings have been found in Denmark, but there is a considerable number of cupped stones from megalithic graves and from Bronze Age graves, mostly in Sealand and Laaland. All included, there were 56 known in 1875; they are listed and described by H. Petersen in *AafnO.* for that year.

Outside of North Bohuslän, the adjacent county of Smaalene in Norway has by far the largest number. There are here 144 rock-tracings found in a relatively small area in the region of Sarpsborg to Fredrikshald. One hundred and thirty of these were discovered and copied by Martin Arneson in 1872-1873. In their complexity they stand nearest to those of North Bohuslän; human figures with upraised swords, concentric circles and various kinds of compound figures are conspicuous. In 1873 Oluf Rygh published a complete list of all definitely established rock-tracings in Norway; they were described and locality given but he gave no illustrations. The list numbers 164. A list published by A. L. Coll in 1901 augmented this to

⁴⁹ At Kinnekulle especially. See, e. g., Emil Ekhoft: *SvT*, VII, pp. 102-126. The last discovery here is discussed by Marta Lejonhufvud in *Fornvännan*, 1908, pp. 87-92. In Fåglum Parish there is a remarkable tracing of seventy-four foot soles and thirteen bowls, *Fornvännan*, 1911, pp. 196-203, described by Bror Schnittger.

⁵⁰ Discovered by Brunius.

⁵¹ Those in Dalsland, as shown in *SKH* are very irregular and indefinite. I can find no later reproductions of them.

⁵² The cupped stones of Sörmland show mainly masses of cups on a group of stones from Bronze Age graves. The single group from Småland, Berge Parish, near Bergsjö, is reproduced in *Fornvännan*, 1909.

⁵³ This was an exceedingly interesting discovery. Holmberg once said that there were rock-tracings in Öland and Gothland, something that Brunius denied. They are illustrated and discussed by Fredrik Nordin in *Fornvännan* 1911, pp. 144-152.

176 as numbered; one of these, however, (number 169) represents eight groups at Melung, Island of Aamöen, a little north of Stavanger, making the total of 183, less numbers 175-176 which appear to be of purely North Scandinavian type; hence actually 181. In recent years many new ones have been found in North Trondhjem Province, especially in Skatval Parish, Stjørdalen.⁵⁴ The total number for Norway, if I am not mistaken, is at the present time 208, and the northernmost limit of rock-tracings in Norway so far found is Tjötta Parish in Nordland. Here on the islands of Løvø and Flatø several were investigated and reported by K. Rygh in 1908; they are of numerous figures and considerable variety, including a double spiral enclosed in a flexed ring. Of the 208 rock-tracings in Norway, then, 144 are in Smaalenene, 11 in the rest of Eastern Norway (in districts about the Christiania Fjord), 20 in Western Norway, and 33 in Northern Norway (Nordmøre to Nordland).⁵⁵ The last discovery comes from Rykkje, in Kvam, Hardanger.⁵⁶

Fundamental Features and Local Developments. It has been indicated above that there is a considerable difference between the sculpturings of the different regions. There are certain outstanding features in the body of configurations as a whole; there are other things that are in the nature of departures from these. There are some things that are fundamental, evidenced from the examples in the megalithic graves, in the early Bronze Age graves also, from the simple groups everywhere, and as elements present extensively in the regions having complex groups. A view of the territory as a whole seems to suggest the following six divisions classified according to the general character of the material in them:

1. The Skåne-Blekinge zone, with Denmark. The charac-

⁵⁴ The last discovery here was reported and described by K. Rygh in *VSS, Tr.*, 1914, pp. 1-8; also well illustrated.

⁵⁵ These are treated separately by K. Rygh in *VSS, Tr.*, 1909, pp. 1-35.

⁵⁶ *Oldtiden*, Tidskrift for norsk Forhistorie, 1918, pp. 137-139, article by Munch Soegaard. A recent find at Gurskø, Søndmøre, is pictured in *Naturen*, 1916, pp. 380-381, reported by A. Bjørn.

ter is that of a general primitiveness, to which stones from the Kivik monument form, in a measure, an exception. South Småland with one figure group belongs here.

2. Southern Bohuslän, Gothenburg, Västergötland. Also almost exclusively certain limited figures; but a massing of these: the foot-sole occupies a prominent place. Dalsland and Värmland, with four tracings, may be included here.

3. North Bohuslän-Smaalenene. From Gullmaren in the South to Sandesund in the North. A region showing a great complexity of figures and the massing of a variety of figures on the same rock. Numerous animals, human beings, armed and unarmed, are conspicuous. Of the total number of ca. 750 rock-tracings (groups) ca. 595 belong here.

4. Östergötland-Sörmland-Upland. The chief development is in Östergötland, where the interest centers around the ship figures. Gothland and Öland belong here.

5. Western Norway and Southern Norway (other than Smaalenene). The Norwegian coast from Sandesund to Romsdalsfjorden. Primitive figures, but with these the prominence of compound circle and spiral forms are at once noticeable.

6. Trondhjem Provinces and Nordland. A northern region showing a beginning of the variety of the Smaalenene type of figures.

To discuss the problems that suggest themselves here does not, however, come within the scope of this survey. Possibly on a later occasion I may be able to do so in connection with a review of recent views. In the meantime I hope that the above pages will serve to gain some interest, also among English speaking students, here in America, for these monuments from ancient Scandinavian times. Many of the figures are perplexing, and perhaps not capable of solution at this late date. But some of the figures have world-wide parallels, as have even some of the compound figures made up of these. And they are found, especially, in all parts of the Indo-European world, though nowhere else assuming such prominence as in the North. The earliest examples in the North go back to the period of the dolmens. The latest examples belong probably to the close of the Bronze Age. Hence they range over a period of ca. 2,000

years. The real problem, as I see it is, in the first place, what was the original meaning or purpose of the cups? and, in the second place, what is the meaning of the combination of cup- and wheel-figures, in their later development?

Rock Sculpturings in Other Countries. Attention has long ago been called to the fact of the existence of sculpturings of rock-tracing type in Stone Age and Bronze Age graves and on rocks in the open in other countries. They are found in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, Northern Germany, France, Spain, Switzerland, Upper Austria, Bohemia, and India.⁶⁷ In most cases they consist of groupings of a limited number of figures, but in some regions the character of the carvings is much more complex. The variety of the Scandinavian rock-tracings is, however, nowhere met with. Particularly in the development of the zöomorphic and anthropomorphic figures the rock tracings of the North are distinguished from those of other regions. The development of anthropomorphic gods (through zöomorphic deities) from primitive nature worship may have taken place earliest in the North. However, the question of the absolute chronology of the anthropomorphic figures enters here. The more primitive character of such monuments in the rest of Europe may have its explanation in the fact that elsewhere they belong for the most part to the end of the Stone Age and the beginning of the Bronze Age, whereas in the Scandinavian North, while they begin, in the last centuries of the Age of Stone, the major portion of the rock-tracings probably belongs to the middle periods of the Bronze Age (1600-800).⁶⁸

Rock Sculpturings in England and Scotland. The reader will perhaps welcome a note on the nature and extent of the sculptures of England and Scotland. According to published listings there were 348 sculptured stones in the United Kingdom known in 1882.⁶⁹ Of these fully one-half were from cists, urns, cairns,

⁶⁷ I disregard here the cup carvings of the American Indians.

⁶⁸ The accompanying Plates III and IV will illustrate the variety of bowl and wheel figures and the development of zöomorphic and finally anthropomorphic sculpturings.

⁶⁹ *Archæologia*, LXI, Part 2, p. 373, and *Pr. SAS*, 1882, p. 122.

PLATE V



FIGURES FROM CUP-AND-RING SCULPTURES OF ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND

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stone circles, cromlechs, etc., i. e., they are associated with various periods of ancient sepulture. I note however, that fifty-seven of those numbered are found on natural rock surfaces, as commonly in Norway and Sweden.

In England, the principal home of figured rocks and stones of the type in question is in Yorkshire and Northumberland. The first systematic presentation of the subject for England was, as far as I can find, that of George Tate: *The Ancient British Sculptured Rocks of Northumberland and the Eastern Borders*.⁶⁰ There are cups, rings with central cups, and complicated figures with radial grooves; grooves enclosing rows or irregularly placed cups are characteristic. There are, further, concentric circles around a central cup, in many cases there is a double radial channel with transverse bars, forming a ladder-like figure joined to the circle figure. A fine example of this kind of a configuration is that of the Panorama Stone at Ilkley, in the dale country of Northwestern Yorkshire.⁶¹ The Northumberland sculptures numbered in 1865 fifty-three with about 350 figures, all of them more or less connected with ancient British remains.⁶² Of the 53 stones, four were from the covers of cists, four others are assumed to be from covers of cists, and two were within a few yards of barrows beneath which are similar sepulchral chambers. The others are shown to be from within or near ancient habitations. It will be noted that a larger number are connected with habitations than with sepulture. In the Parish of Kilburn, Yorkshire, more than twenty stones were found with round and oval cup-markings, connected sometimes by wide and shallow grooves.⁶³ From barrow nr. 245 in the Parish of Folkton, Yorkshire, were taken in connection with examinations in 1866-68, three chalk objects with carved figures, regarding which I quote William Greenwell's words: "Behind the head and touching it was an object

⁶⁰ Published at Alnwick, 1865. The earliest discoveries go back, however, to the preceding century.

⁶¹ Shown in *The Reliquary and Illustrated Archaeologist*, II, 1896, pp. 68-76.

⁶² *Contributions to North American Ethnology*. Washington, 1882, p. 15.

⁶³ Cf. the cupped stones of Tuna, Sörmland, Sweden, which are sometimes connected by grooves. Excellent illustrations in *SvT*, X.

made of chalk, and behind and touching the hips were two other larger ones, placed close together, the largest the furthest to the south."⁶⁴ The objects are pictured as Plate I, of the *Archaeologia*, LII, 2, London, 1890. All three are round and solid (formed like a round box, says Greenwell); the top shows in all three cases series of concentric circles. The largest ball has a figure of five concentric circles; projecting from the outside of this figure are four triangular points. We seem to have here again the flaming disk, with five circles. Cf. similar sun-symbols on Scandinavian rock-tracings. See Plate III. The middle sized object has four series of concentric circles. The smallest has a figure which is like the middle figure in the bottom row of Plate V here shown, except that instead of three there are two central groups of concentric rings.

In Scotland cup and ring sculptures have been found near Ratho, Edinburghshire, at Moncrieff south of Perth, at Balvraid and Clava, Invernesshire, at Dunbar, East Lothian, at Ardkeiling, Elginshire, at Laws, Forfarshire, at Conchieton, Borgue, in Kirkcudbright (here one cup on each of two stones taken from a cairn), and especially at Auchnabreach, Carnban, Argyleshire; further also Aberdeenshire, Banff, Ross, Sutherland, Orkney, other places in Perthshire and Forfar besides those named, in Ayrshire, Dumfries, Roxburgh, Dumbarton, Peebles, and Wigtown, and finally in the caves of East Wemyss, Fifeshire. The first seven of these are from dolmens, stone circles, and passage-graves, some are from monoliths; a number appear on isolated stones; and especially in Argyle on rocks in situ; they are all markings of numerous cups, round and oval. Those from the caves of East Wemyss are much more elaborate, and remind one strangely of some of the Swedish tracings.⁶⁵ There are cupped rings, with closed and open rings, rings connected by grooves, large circles joined to a tree-like figure, a leftward branch of which ends in four lateral branches and a central squarish figure, a "spectacle ornament"

⁶⁴ *Archaeologia*, LII, Part 2, p. 14.

⁶⁵ They are treated by John Patrick in article entitled "The Sculptured Caves of East Wemyss" in *The Reliquary and Illustrated Archaeologist*, Vols. XI and XII.

with floriated figure, tridents, compound figures of various kinds.⁶⁶ Of exceeding interest is a sculptured stone ball found in 1860 at Glas, Aberdeenshire. The ball is of clay slate, three inches in diameter and has four round projecting knobs, one being plain, the other three ornamented. They are reproduced on pp. 102-3 of *The Reliquary*, vol. III, with discussion, to which I am indebted for the facts here given. One of the ornamented faces shows four groups of concentric circles, and the second three central double spirals enclosed in a series of concentric trefoils. The third face has concentric spirals, in the center curved parallel lines running out from this and along the edge, the space between being filled in by chevrons. On the second ball the whole surface outside the three circles is filled in with sixteen trefoils. The ball in question is dated as of the Bronze Age; another similar ball found at Walston, Lanark, is regarded as belonging to the early Iron Age. The ball here spoken of is the finest specimen of a group of ca. 100 similar balls found in (chiefly northeastern) Scotland. One has been found in Ireland. The raised faces number variously from four to fifteen, symmetrically arranged with depressions between each. Plate V will show the principal figures occurring in the English-Scottish sculpturings.

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⁶⁶ The so-called cresset stones have been found in Cornwall, Cumberland, Dorset, Monmouthshire, Yorkshire, and elsewhere. One of the stones has a cup and a long groove on the bottom; the four pits in its upper side are nipple-shaped. *The Reliquary*, XI, pp. 57-61.

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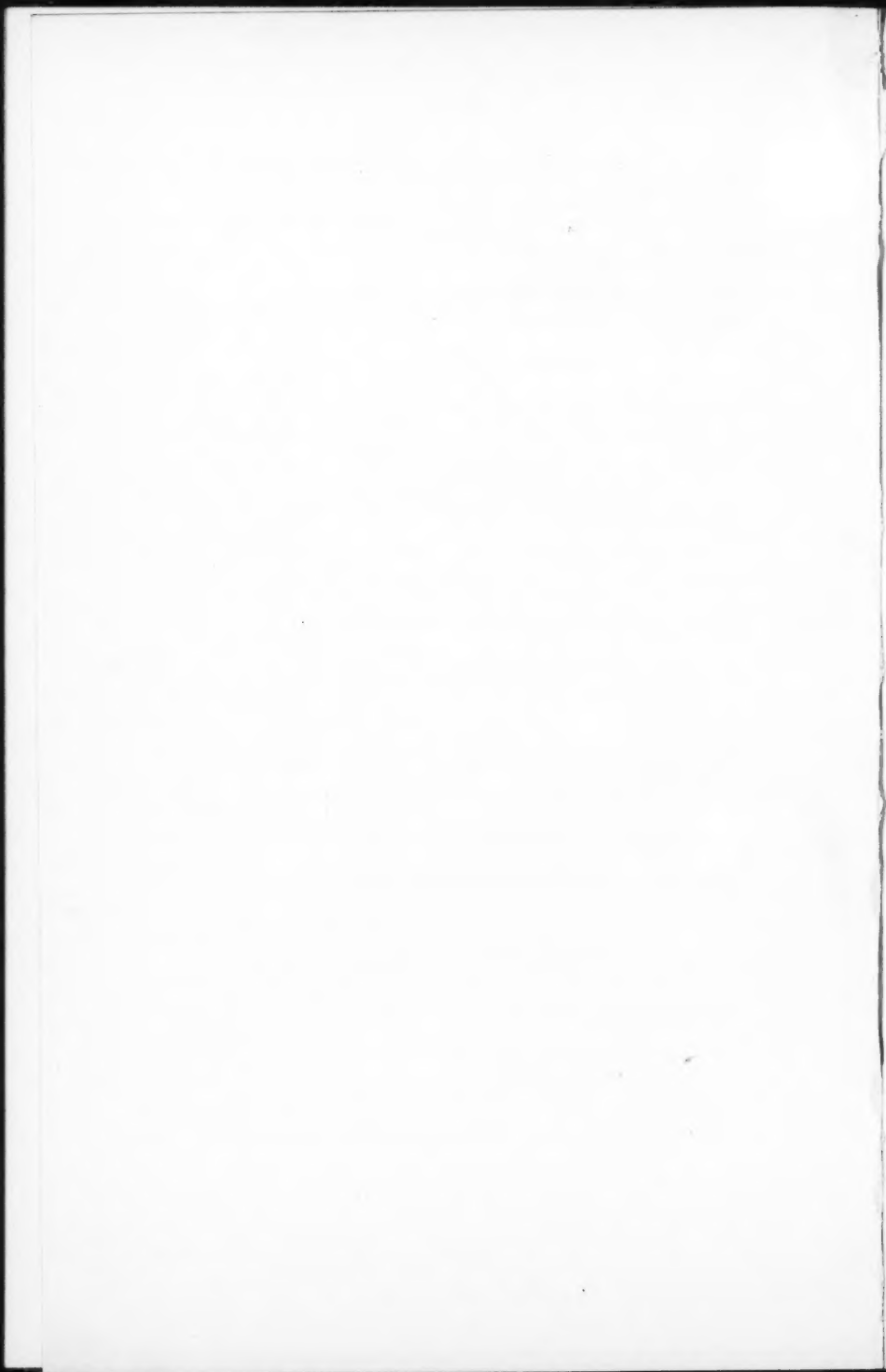
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THE CHARACTER OF INGEBORG IN TEGNÉR'S FRITHIOFSSAGA

I

INTRODUCTION

Tegnér's master-piece, the *Frithiofssaga*, has been analysed from many viewpoints, of which not the least important is the character delineation of the hero, Frithiof. In his hero, Tegnér has depicted the ideal Swedish character into which, however, the poet fuses much of his own peculiar temperament. The Swedish temperament and character are in equal measure reflected in Ingeborg, but a special study of Ingeborg's character has as yet received comparatively little attention in spite of the fact that she represents Tegnér's ethical idealism more clearly and fully than does Frithiof.

The spiritual fundament upon which the *Frithiofssaga* rests is the question of *reconciliation*, which in the last canto (*Försoningen*) receives its final and complete expression as the denouement of the poem. Starting with this thesis in mind, Tegnér wrote the canto *Försoningen* and published it in *Iduna* (1822) long before the poem was completed. Our interest, therefore, properly centers about Frithiof's reconciliation, but in this regard we cannot omit the vital influence of Ingeborg in determining Frithiof's course of action and, therefore, in bringing about the desired reconciliation. Directly preceding the canto *Försoningen* Tegnér has endowed his hero with the prophetic and mystic vision of Balder's Temple, one of those rapturous moments of inspiration which the poet himself often experienced and which he depicts with such poetic grandeur in *Svea*. Like Saul smitten by the voice of God, Frithiof repents, and is now prepared for the final conversion at the hands of the priest, who instils within him the new teachings of Christ. But long before this (*Afskedet*), Ingeborg herself had warned Frithiof against his unreasonable pride, his wilfulness and his fundamentally wrong (i.e., heathen) attitude towards his enemies. It was Ingeborg in the first place who sought to forestall the tragedy, by urging Frithiof to lay aside his anger and revenge,

and in spite of his ideal of honor to sacrifice his self-love for her sake. Since the character of Ingeborg represents that ideal of renunciation which is the fundamental thought of the poem, she not only is a necessary supplement to the character of Frithiof but she also constitutes the moral pivot upon which the action of the poem swings. Her self-control, her firmness, gentleness and equipoise are sharply contrasted with Frithiof's impulsive nature, his passion, anger and indecision. Indeed, her character is the back-ground upon which the picture of Frithiof is painted, for without her the character of the hero would have neither a moral nor an artistic setting. Frithiof and Ingeborg reflect conjointly the ideal Swedish character, and their composite nature reveals to us that ideal for which Tegnér was striving both as a poet and as a religious philosopher.

II

THE CHARACTER OF INGEBORG

a) *Ingeborg's Ideal of Virtue and Kantian Ethics*

It is chiefly from this viewpoint (i.e., as supplementary to the character of Frithiof and in relation to the fundamental theme of the poem) that the following analysis of Ingeborg's character has been undertaken.

Underlying the tragic conflict in *Afskedet*, in which Ingeborg's character is portrayed in all its profundity and beauty, is the Old Norse conception of Fate. This conception, which lent to Tegnér's work the dignity of the Greek drama, was, however, only one of those "Gothic" (i.e., Old Norse) ideals which the poet treated as a mere conventionality and which he, therefore, disposed of in his own way, in translating the ancient ideals of his race into terms of modern thought. Ingeborg cannot avoid her Fate and with the fearless spirit of the Old Norse warrior she says: "I will meet my fate, as the hero meets his."¹ But her stoicism is not due to an ideal of physical bravery; it is a purely moral compulsion born of her ideal of duty and righteousness. When Frithiof upbraids her for her decision,

¹ Det höga Valhall skall ej blygas för
sin fränka: jag vill gå emot mitt öde,
som hjelten går mot sitt.

interpreting her conviction as a mere woman's whim, she replies: "A noble whim is the feeling for righteousness."² She explains her conduct as necessary and unavoidable, in that a righteous act is a necessary and unavoidable act: "That which is right and noble is necessary."³ Her heroic decision is thus fortified by the conviction that she is performing an unavoidable act of duty, the neglect of which would compromise her own honor⁴ as well as Frithiof's. With her, honor is synonymous with righteousness, and moral compulsion with necessity (i.e., Fate); thus, Ingeborg's entire code of ethics is summed up in the three words, *äran, det rätta, nödvändighet*.

It is not difficult to see that in this code of ethics, which determines Ingeborg's conduct with the mechanical precision of Fate, Tegnér has reflected the Kantian doctrines⁵ of the Categorical Imperative and Necessitated Freedom. Ingeborg is free only so far as she may choose between right and wrong. The course which Frithiof opens to her is not in reality an impossibility. Yet as a righteous soul she chooses the path which conscience dictates to her as the only one open to her. Conscience is her sole arbiter and the freedom of the will (which Kant postulated as the basis of all moral action) lends character and worth to her conduct. Yet she cannot do otherwise, since the fulfillment of a righteous decision is to her mind a necessity. Her ideal of conduct is, therefore, nothing more nor less than Tegnér's interpretation of Kant's system of ethics which at the same time was in keeping with the poet's Christian ideals of conscience and of self-sacrifice as the essential element of love and reconciliation (*försakelse i kärlek*). The mechanical nature of Fate, as a blind exotic force corresponding to the Old Norse conception, is thus converted into an inward necessity in keeping with Kant's Categorical Imperative and with Tegnér's own faith in the infallible voice of conscience. How strongly Kant's ideal of

² En ädel nyck är känslan af det rätta.

³ Hvad som är rätt och ädelt, är nödvändigt.

⁴ För mitt värde räddas bör och ditt.

⁵ Cf. Albert Nilsson's *Introduction to Tegnér's Filosofiska och estetiska skrifter*, Stockholm, 1913.

Necessitated Freedom had affected Tegnér's conception of the Christian religion may be judged from the poet's own words, when in his speech upon Martin Luther (*Vid jubelfesten*, 1817) he says: "Necessitated freedom, in whatever form it may appear, is our brother in faith. It is a born Lutheran, just as we are."⁶ It follows, therefore, quite naturally that Tegnér should have found the traditional fate-motif a very convenient and suitable means for expressing his own religious and moral ideals, even tho he thereby strictly adhered to a conventional technicality traditional with the Romantic poets.⁷

b) *Ingeborg's Moral Heroism and Fichte*

Since by her obedience to conscience Ingeborg sacrifices the most precious thing she has in life (i.e., her love for Frithiof), she performs an act not only of moral idealism (cf. Kant's Categorical Imperative) but also of true heroism. This ideal of moral heroism runs thruout Tegnér's works, an ideal which received its more intense expression in his national war-songs, such as *Svea* or as *Karl XII*. Kant's ideal of free-will was thus idealized and glorified by investing a necessary act with moral valuations. This expansion of Kant's philosophy into moral valuations, wherein the will is the cardinal factor, was the chief service which Fichte rendered to philosophy, and there can be no doubt but that Tegnér was deeply affected by Fichte's brilliant discourses wherein the latter welded this doctrine of the will into the national ideals of service to the Fatherland.⁸ Indeed, there is much in Ingeborg's character which reflects the ideal of the national hero, as represented in Tegnér's war-songs. Thus, for instance, when Ingeborg says:

Det höga Valhall skall ej blygas för
sin fränka; jag vill gå emot mitt öde,
som hjälten går mot sitt.

⁶ "Lagbunden frihet, under hvad gestalt som helst, är vår trosförvandt. Den är en född lutheran, likasom vi."

⁷ Cf. especially Oehlenschläger's *Helge* which afforded Tegnér the model for his *Frithiofssaga*. Oehlenschläger's Old Norse dramas were for the most part modelled after the fashion of the Greek Fate Drama.

⁸ Cf. F. Bök, *Esaias Tegnér, I, Krigsposi och patriotisk diktning*, p. 231 ff.

we have the same spirit of pride and defiance (*trots*) which Tegnér defines in *Gerda*⁹ as characteristic of the Swedish race, and which he expresses with such wonderful verve and clearness in his *Krigssång för skånska landtvärnet*:

Fritt öfver oss hvälf
båd' ryske och danske;
vi kaste vår handske
mot ödet sjelf.

Ingeborg's proud defiance is based upon the ideal of righteousness (*det rätta*), exactly as in the case of Karl XII, whom Tegnér invests with moral idealism as the essential element of heroism:

i glädje som i smärta
blott för *det rätta* varm.

Since her own personal happiness is out of the question, she is, like the national hero, concerned only with her *honor* (*äran*) which must be kept inviolate at all hazards. But with her, just as with Karl XII, honor is not a conventional code of etiquette but synonymous with righteousness:

Var vis, min Frithiof, låt oss vika för
de höga nornor, låt oss rädda ur
vårt ödes skeppsbrot dock ännu vår *ära*!
vår lefnads lycka kan ej räddas mer.
Vi måste skiljas.

Ingeborg's ideal of honor as the noblest expression of virtue is the individual application of that national ideal to which Tegnér made such a powerful appeal in all his patriotic war-songs. Honor is not only the finest expression of chivalrous traditions but the most precious covenant of a heroic spirit. A country that has lost its *sense of honor* forfeits its national spirit and its very right to self-assertion. Thus, in *Svea* Tegnér appeals to his fellow countrymen to save at least the nation's *honor*, even if victory against overwhelming odds is impossible:

Gerda

Nordens kraft är trots, och falla
är en seger för oss alla,
ty förr än man föll till slut,
fick man ändå kämpa ut.

än kan du med ditt mod en häpen värld förfära,
och rädda, fallande åtminstone din ära.

Thus, honor is as indispensable a factor in the moral character of the nation (Svea) as in that of the individual (Ingeborg), for without honor character can have no moral value. Honor excludes all sense of self-advantage and postulates as its first requisite the ideal of self-renunciation and the exercise of the will for its accomplishment. Ingeborg cannot be swerved from her chosen path by the alluring pictures of happiness which Frithiof offers her. The reward for her self-sacrifice lies solely in the fulfillment of her duty, just as the poet says of the virtuous man in *Den vise*:

(han) vill det rätta, sorglös om dess lön,
och tror dygden, äfven straffad skön.

Ingeborg's ideal of honor is identical with her ideal of virtue, and thus Tegnér has woven into the Kantian ethics that moral valuation which became with him a national as well as an individual ideal. Ingeborg and Svea, in fact, are in an ethical sense counterparts of each other, both typifying that spirit of heroic self-sacrifice which Fichte proclaimed in his *Reden an die deutsche Nation* and elsewhere as the vital essence of character and of heroism.

c) *Ingeborg as Tegnér's Ideal Woman*

The dramatic conflict in *Afskedet* is based upon the interpretation of honor. Here Tegnér sharply contrasts the masculine and feminine viewpoints. Both of these viewpoints are based upon tradition, but there is this vital difference between the two; viz., Ingeborg's attitude becomes synonymous with Tegnér's ideal of virtue, while Frithiof's attitude is not welded into the body of Kantian ethics but remains, as it is, the purely masculine and conventional interpretation of honor. Thus, Tegnér's sympathy is naturally on the side of Ingeborg whom he has chosen as the vehicle of his moral idealism. By thus espousing Ingeborg's cause the poet availed himself of the opportunity not only of being "chivalrous to the fair sex"¹⁰ (*artig mot könet*)

¹⁰ Cf. letter to Brinkman, Lund, May 1, 1825, quoted in footnote 11.

but also of idealizing woman's character as contrasted with man's. Furthermore, Tegnér's sympathetic attitude towards Ingeborg is enhanced by the fact that Ingeborg, as a woman, necessarily suffers more than Frithiof. The conventional status of woman in society made her a slave to parental authority; in fact, in the Viking era woman was not considered as an individual soul responsible to self but as a being subordinate to man. In spite of Frithiof's urgent plea to burst the bonds with which tradition has fettered her, Ingeborg steadfastly refuses to violate a code of honor sanctioned by her race from time immemorial, whatever suffering this entails. Thus, she preserves the feminine code of honor with the same pride and stubbornness as Frithiof defends the masculine code of honor during the Viking era. But in so doing, Ingeborg pays the penalty exacted of every woman of her time and therefore her misfortune is due solely to the fact that she is a woman. Ingeborg is herself cognizant of this fact, hence her bitter complaints against man in the person of Frithiof, and hence the fact that her own personal misfortunes are expressed in general terms as applied to woman. When, for instance, she says that woman is like the moss clinging to the rock or like the delicate water-lily crushed beneath the sailor's keel, she expresses in terms applied to her sex that which as an individual she herself has experienced. When Frithiof refuses to recognize the validity of Ingeborg's decision, she believes him to be guilty only of the faults of his sex; hence, Ingeborg with the poet's own magnanimity of character exonerates her hero, in so far as Frithiof's cruelty towards her is not the expression of a natural perversity, but the result of the traditional attitude towards woman:

Ack! mannen är dock hård, och för sin ära
(så kallar han sin stolthet) räknar han
ej just så noga, om han skulle krossa
ett troget hjerta mera eller mindre.

Thus, the quarrel between Frithiof and Ingeborg is based upon the fundamental difference of the two sexes in ideals, temperament and character.

In this quarrel, which is essentially not a personal quarrel but a conflict of ethical ideals, Ingeborg represents Tegnér's

ideal of virtue and therefore the ideal woman. From our modern viewpoint of social ethics Tegnér has here become involved in an ethical dilemma, for altho Ingeborg represents virtue for virtue's sake, nevertheless the poet is forced to make her virtue spring from an act essentially wrong, i.e., from the violation of her love, woman's holiest instinct. But Ingeborg is a child of Tegnér's era, a product of that stern moral rigor which put conscience above love and natural instincts, and made duty the supreme requisite of virtue. Therefore, by renouncing the very thing which she most desires she attains to that ideal of virtue which Kant postulated in his Categorical Imperative and Fichte extolled as the supreme qualification of the hero.

It is impossible for Ingeborg to pierce the moral mist which obscured the vision of Tegnér's era; she cannot distinguish between duty to her father (= her code of honor) and duty to herself. Had Tegnér lived in our era, he most probably would have found a different solution for the problem, a solution which would have enabled Ingeborg to harmonize Frithiof's coup d'état with the principles of righteous self-determination. But as it is, she must solve the problem along ethical and philosophical lines peculiar to Tegnér's time and to his own religious nature. Ingeborg thus embodies the ideal virtues of the Swedish woman of the poet's era, without that new vision of woman's soul-integrity and individuality to which Ibsen and Bjørnson have given such powerful expression.

The puritanical tone of Ingeborg's ideals reflects the stern, orthodox attitude of the age toward sexual love, but such a code contrasts strangely with her expressions of love and her disregard of conventionalities (cf. the meeting in *Baldershage*). Sentimentality and morality, the natural and the cultivated instincts of the heart, poetry and religion are thus blended in the character of Ingeborg, just as in the character of the poet himself. Ingeborg sees no wrong in her love for Frithiof:

Hvad som är löffigt under himlens hvalf,
hur blef det brottsligt under tempelhalvvet?

Her love is divine, just as is her virtue or her conscience. Logically, therefore, she violates a divine law in marrying King Ring, but since duty must take precedence over natural in-

instincts, Tegnér converts this act of infidelity into a virtue, by basing her act upon the Kantial ideal of Necessitated Freedom. Thus, Tegnér extricates his heroine from a dilemma, and by this tour de force proves his chivalrous attitude towards the fair sex.¹¹

The conflict involved in *Afskedet* necessitates a course of action consonant with the conventional standard of woman's conduct, therefore self-renunciation is the only course open to Ingeborg, however cruel this may be:

Mitt öde hvilat uti andras händer,
de släppa ej sitt rof, fastän det blöder;
och offra sig och klaga och förtyna
i långsam sorg, är kungadotterns frihet.

She cannot escape the law of self-renunciation, for if she seeks to do so, she will be guilty of a dishonorable act and thus violate not only the sacred code of the law but also the integrity of her own soul:

Helge är min fader,
är mig i faders ställe; af hans bifall
beror min hand, och Beles dotter stjäla
sin lycka ej, hur nära ock den ligger.

Therefore, Ingeborg sacrifices her love in order to retain her integrity of character as a woman. Her whole life is centered upon her love for Frithiof:

mitt väsen är
det yttre skalet endast af min kärlek.

But however high a valuation she sets upon her love for Frithiof, she, nevertheless, does not consider this as an essential property of her soul. The soul itself is not in need of love in order to fulfill the law of its being; its essential character is *virtue*, and therefore Ingeborg renounces love as a non-essential, in order to preserve the essential (i.e., *virtue*):

Men väl jag offra kan min lefnads lycka,
kan kasta bort den, som en drottning kastar

¹¹ Cf. *Anmärkingar såsom inledning till Frithiofs Saga* and his letter to Brinkman, May 1, 1825: "Äfvenså Ingeborgs trolöshet mot sin älskare, som visserligen är motiverad i qvinnohjertats natur, men hvilken likväl af en poet, som gerna är artig mot könet, borde på något sätt förgyllas och bemantras."

sin mantel från sig, och är likafullt
den samma som hon var.

Above all worldly joys is the happiness of virtue whose supreme test is self-renunciation. Thus, the naïve and sentimental woman is converted into an ideal of virtue; the impassioned tone of love blends with the religious and the ethical strain upon the poet's lyre and Ingeborg fulfills that commandment which Tegnér in *Den vise* lays down as the chief requisite of virtue:

Öfver äran, makten, rikedom
på en höjd, som stjernehalvvet brant,
står dess tempel, stödt på rätt och sant.
*Offra, menska,—eller helgedomen
slänges.* Offer vill den dygd der bor;
lugn dess dotter, möda är dess mor.

d) *Ingeborg's Ideal of Virtue in Its Relation to the Eternal Verities*

For Ingeborg virtue is the most essential quality of the soul. No harm can befall her if she does not violate the law of virtue, and therefore her happiness and her life are translated into terms of ethical valuation. Ingeborg's doctrine of soul-integrity is in keeping with Tegnér's conception of the soul as a spiritual essence unaffected by outward or material circumstances. The human soul is indestructible and, like God, rests secure amid the chaotic forces of nature, as the poet says in *Den vise*:

Allt är rof utaf förgängligheten,
tomt står rummet, der naturen var;
menskan blott är än den samma qvar,
hennes tanke fyller evigheten.
Uti kaos' natt ej lif, ej ljud,
intet, intet, utom hon och Gud!

As "man (= spirit) alone remains the same," so Ingeborg remains the same, in spite of her misfortunes:

och är lika fullt
den samma som hon var.

She remains the same, because she has not forfeited the *essential* (i.e., her ideal of virtue); the essential must survive the fortuitous, as the poet says in *Fridsröster*:

Hvad tillfalligt är må falla,
det väsentliga består.

It is the spirit, the divine essence in man, which controls his destiny and makes him master of the universe (*Den vise*):

kom och känn, att stor är människan,
stor igenom visheten och *dygden*.

Virtue (*dygden*), as an essential element of the spirit, receives an immortal character inseparably connected with all those spiritual ideals upon which the poet bases his estimate of life.

This doctrine of the supremacy of the spirit over matter and outward circumstances belongs to the transcendental philosophy of Kant and Fichte, to which the poet Schiller gave such beautiful expression in his ideal of "the beautiful soul" (*die schöne Seele*). Tegnér's Ingeborg is likewise the poet's vision of "the beautiful soul," who acts according to those laws upon which ideal conduct is based. By virtue of her supreme sacrifice Kant's Categorical Imperative receives in her that poetic idealization characteristic of Schiller (*Huldigung der Künste*):

Doch Schönres find' ich nichts, wie lang ich wähle,
Als in der schönen Form—die schöne Seele.

Ingeborg's character reveals the immortality of virtue, as Tegnér expresses this, for instance, in his poem *Det eviga*, which is a direct reflection of Schiller's moral and esthetical ideals (cf. his *Die Worte des Glaubens*):

Och Dygden är fri, och dör icke ut,
hur brottet må smäda och bloda.
Eröfrar det Onda all jorden till slut,
så kan du dock vilja det goda.
Det ädla du tänker, det goda du vill
det hörer dig sjelf, hör ej grafven till.¹²

Ingeborg is cognizant of the dignity and worth of her own soul, and thus her philosophy is illumined and beautified by the poet's idealized vision. She is immune from any outward misfortune

¹²Elder version of Tegnér's manuscript; cf. F. Bök, *Esaias Tegnér*, I, p. 128, 1.

Cf. Schiller's *Die Worte des Glaubens*:

Und die Tugend, sie ist kein leerer Schall,
Der Mensch kann sie üben im Leben,
Und sollt er auch straucheln überall,
Er kann nach der göttlichen streben.

and consoles herself with the stoicism of a virtuous philosopher. Her righteousness affords her the same consolation as the poet finds in the good and the true, even as Tegnér says of himself in that touching poem (*Afskef till min lyra*) in which he reviews the joys and sorrows of his past life. To poetry he says: "Thou wert everything to me, the good as well as the true."¹³ The eternal verities are in poetry; poetry is virtue, truth and beauty, and therefore virtue, as well as truth and beauty, is poetic.

The divine law is *harmony* and by adjusting herself to the moral law Ingeborg effects the reconciliation and her final happiness. Necessitated Freedom is the highest type of freedom because it is in harmony with the universal law of morality. This law enables Ingeborg to triumph over Fate, just as the poet triumphs over the outward vicissitudes of life.

But adjustment to the moral law entails unavoidable suffering. The soul must renounce its most heartfelt desires; it must pass thru the crucible of fire, in order to attain to purity, as Tegnér says in *Elden*:

och gör honom, som du gör asbesten,
mera skön och ren!

So Ingeborg must pass thru the unavoidable ordeal of self-renunciation, in order to satisfy the god Balder, who represents the divine law of love and reconciliation.

e) *Ingeborg as an Expression of the Swedish Character*

In his *Anmärkingar såsom inledning till Frithiofs Saga* Tegnér mentions the fact that in his portrayal of Ingeborg's character he had intended to reflect that chivalrous attitude towards woman peculiar to the Germanic race from time immemorial. With characteristic modesty Tegnér here explains¹⁴ Ingeborg's heroic self-sacrifice as properly motivated by the fact that self-sacrifice is a peculiarly feminine virtue, characteristic of all good women of whatever race or era, and thus rests

¹³ "Du var mig allt, det goda som det sanna."

¹⁴ "Den grannlagenhet, hvarmed Ingeborg vägrade att åtfölja sin älskare och hellre uppoffrade sin böjelse än undandrog sig sin brors och giftomans välde, synes mig tillräckligen motiverad i den bättre qvinnans natur, som i alla tider måste bli sig lik."

upon a universally recognized fact. Nevertheless, upon this universal fundament Tegnér has based those peculiarly Scandinavian characteristics which make Ingeborg a Swedish woman, as distinctly national in character and temperament as is, for instance, Goethe's Dorothea or Balsac's Eugénie Grandet.

The proud and valiant spirit of the Valkyrie maiden still survives in the daughter of King Bele, even if the battle is no longer fought out with shield and spear. Her gentle, Christian spirit is blended with those traditional qualities of her race, viz., courage and contempt for suffering. She meets her Fate like the warrior in battle (*Afskedet*):

Det höga Valhall skall ej blygas för
sin fränka; jag vill gå emot mitt öde,
som hjelten går mot sitt.

and accepts the full penalty which the god Balder has exacted from her (*Frithiofs återkomst*):

Jag kunde dö, men det vore skoning;
förtörnad Balder vill blott försoning.

She refuses to share her grief with Frithiof (*Afskedet*):

Jag vill behålla för mig sjelf min smärta,

or to receive pity in her extremity (*Frithiofs återkomst*):

men säg för ingen den svagas strider!
jag vill ej ömkas, ehur jag lider.

When her brother tears Frithiof's ring from her hand, she prevents Hilding from striking the coward down, because she knows justice is in the hands of God (*Frithiofs återkomst*):

Låt vara,
en broder kunnat mig detta spara,
dock mycket tål man, förr'n man förgås,
Allfader dömmar emellan oss.

Thus, courage and forbearance, strength and humility, pride and magnanimity are united in Ingeborg, as the ideal Swedish woman. The Christian virtues shine thru the traditional character of the Ancient Scandinavian heroine, and round about this gentle personality Tegnér has woven many a beautiful picture of Swedish natural scenery which gives to the figure of Ingeborg a

peculiarly national setting. "The moss-plant with its pale colors, growing upon the cliff"¹⁵ or "the pale water-lily, rising and falling with the wave and crushed by the sailor's ruthless keel"¹⁶ reflect not only the sombre character of Ingeborg's fate but also the exquisite hues of Värmland's lakes and mountains which Tegnér depicts with such grandeur in *Till min hembygd*. Like the beautiful Swedish water-fowl, Ingeborg is shot down; but just as the noble bird dives to the bottom of the stream there to bleed to death, in order that the huntsman may not be a witness of his cruel deed, so Ingeborg hides her grief within her stricken heart that her cowardly enemy may not rejoice at her suffering (*Frithiofs återkomst*):

Väl hörde ingen den ädlas klagan,
hon teg som Vidar i gudasagan,
.....
För mig hon yppade dock sitt hjerta,
i djupet bodde oändlig smärta.
Som vattenfogeln med såradt bröst
till botten dyker; det är hans tröst,
att dagen icke i såret glöder,
på botten ligger han och förblöder:
så hennes smärta i natt sjönk ned,
jag ensam vet hvad den starka led.

Despite the classical simile, this passage reflects more truly perhaps than any other in the *Frithiofssaga* the spirit of the Northland and the character of its people. The heroic, the tender and the beautiful are blended in this picture of the Swedish bird, the dying water-fowl that once roamed free and happy upon the Swedish forest streams and over the hill-sides, as did Ingeborg with Frithiof. Both in the character of the simile and in the thought which it symbolizes, Tegnér has here, as

15

Afskedet

Den arma qvinnan, sluten till hans bröst,
är som en mossväxt, blommande på klippan
med bleka färger.

16

Afskedet

Den bleka vattenliljan liknar hon:
med vågen stiger hon, med vågen faller,
och seglarns köl går öfver henne fram
och märker icke, att han skär dess stängel.

elsewhere, reflected the national; that which in his characteristic modesty he felt he never was able to express (*Afsked till min lyra*):

hvad stort och ädelt i det nordanländska
som återstår ännu, det väldiga, det svenska.

In Ingeborg's martyrdom, her magnanimity and humility, her patience and self-control are revealed the Christian virtues which are essentially negative and peculiar to woman's character. The conventional Romantic ideal of the Valkyrie maiden is thus converted into a character whose heroism is purely moral and spiritual, the Kantian ideal of character united with the Fichtian will and heroic nature. The character of Ingeborg is, in fact, a Swedish ideal of womanhood based upon the philosophy of the Romantic School which Tegnér beautified by his own poetic imagination and his love for Sweden and the Swedish people.

f) *Ingeborg and Goethe's Dorothea*

The glorification of woman's self-sacrifice became one of the favorite themes of the Romantic poets. In Goethe's *Hermann und Dorothea* (1797), however, we have a classic expression of this motif from the purely German viewpoint. It is interesting, therefore, to note the salient features of Dorothea's character as compared with Ingeborg's.

Both Dorothea and Ingeborg are conventional types as represented according to the artistic and ethical ideals of the two poets. Dorothea represents the ideal maiden of the conventional "bürger" type, just as Ingeborg represents the ideal type of Swedish woman of noble birth; and both poets view woman according to the conventional standards of their time. Ingeborg's ideal of virtue is based upon the conventional tradition of obedience to parental authority. Similarly, Dorothea's ideal of virtue is based upon domestic service, for her authority does not extend beyond the execution of her domestic duties (*Canto VIII*):

Dienen lerne beizeiten das Weib nach ihrer Bestimmung;
Denn durch Dienen allein gelangt sie endlich zum Herrschen,
Zu der verdienten Gewalt, die doch ihr im Hause gehört.

Woman's service, however, is an endless chain of humdrum duties which make her life a martyrdom in behalf of others (*Canto VIII*):

Und ihr Leben ist immer ein ewiges Gehen und Kommen,
Oder ein Heben und Tragen, Bereiten und Schaffen für andre.

just as Ingeborg says (*Afskedet*):

Ett lif, der solen spinner, år från år,
den ena dagen alltid lik den andra,
ett skönt, men evigt enahanda är
för qvinnan endast.

Furthermore, just as Ingeborg draws a sharp distinction between the natures of man and woman (wherein Tegnér's sympathies are clearly on the side of woman), so Dorothea (*ibid.*) contrasts the duties of man and woman, exalting woman's office in life, her devotion and martyrdom in behalf of her children and in the performance of those many little tasks which men too often fail to appreciate.

With both poets the national ideal of woman does not extend beyond the conventional notion as to woman's proper place in society. But the restrictions laid upon woman's social status were productive of her peculiar virtues. If Ingeborg's misfortune is due solely to the fact that she is a woman, then this fact also explains those peculiar virtues of obedience, patience and silent heroism with which Tegnér has endowed her.

Goethe's *Hermann und Dorothea* exerted a deep influence upon Tegnér; in fact, his *Nattvardsbarnen* is a sort of religious epilog to Goethe's idyl. It is, therefore, not at all unlikely that the exquisite character of Dorothea, so strikingly similar to Ingeborg's in its main features (i.e., dutifulness, service, patience, etc.), lent something to Tegnér's imagination in the delineation of his heroine; the idyllic tone of the *Frithiofssaga* is one very prominent characteristic of the poem. Furthermore, the character of Hermann and his depressing struggle to gain the mastery over himself in the conflict between honor (= duty to the Fatherland) and love, offered an excellent parallel to Frithiof.

g) *Ingeborg's Character and Schiller's Ideal of Woman*

Goethe's attitude towards woman represented a typically masculine and German viewpoint. Schiller, on the other hand, approached the question from a more philosophical and therefore from a more unbiased and more ideal viewpoint. Schiller's influence upon Tegnér was so profound, that it is reasonable to presume that the former's apotheosis of woman and poetic idealization of her virtues must have affected Tegnér in his delineation of Ingeborg's character and temperament. Indeed, there is much in the quarrel between Frithiof and Ingeborg and in Tegnér's psychological analysis of the two characters, which reflects Schiller's sentiments as expressed, for instance, in his *Würde der Frauen* (1796). Here Schiller draws a most vivid contrast between the natures of man and woman. Pride, ambition, self-interest and activity are the salient features of man's character, while gentleness, renunciation, self-sacrifice and love are typified in woman, the perfume and balsam of man's life. Her virtues are constructive and harmonious, while man is consumed with eternally warring passion and selfish aims; *he* conquers with the sword, *she* with the spirit. Of man Schiller says (*ibid.*):

Streng und stolz, sich selbst genügend,
Kennt des Mannes kalte Brust,
Herzlich an ein Herz sich schmiegend,
Nicht der Liebe Götterlust.

Exactly this ideal of man's stubborn and selfish pride obtains in the *Frithiofssaga* when Ingeborg senses the masculine viewpoint in Frithiof's decision (*Afskedet*):

Ack! mannen är dock hård, och för sin ära
(så kallar han sin stolthet) räknar han
ej just så noga, om han skulle krossa
ett troget hjerta mera eller mindre.

Ingeborg, however, realizes that action is necessary for man's happiness, and therefore she is willing to be separated from Frithiof, in order that he may gain that glory in battle, which only the warrior knows. Just as Schiller depicts man's warlike activity as necessary to his happiness (*ibid.*):

Feindlich ist des Mannes Streben,
Mit zermalmender Gewalt
Geht der wilde durch das Leben,
Ohne Rast und Aufenthalt,

so Ingeborg says to Frithiof (*Afskedet*):

men för mannens själ,
och helst för din, blef lifvets stiltje tröttsam.
Du trivdes bäst, när stormen tumlar kring
på skummig gångare utöfver djupen
och på din planka, uppå lif och död,
du kämpa får med faran om din ära.

It is almost beyond peradventure that the fundamental distinction, which Schiller in his *Würde der Frauen* drew between the natures of man and woman, is reflected in Tegnér's poem *Till damerna*¹⁷ (vid magisterpromotionen i Lund, 1808). Here Tegnér, like Schiller, emphasizes man's natural brutality, selfishness, reckless ambition and necessity for action; man is the personification of the spirit of war, woman of peace and love:

Hård är mannen: På den brända kinden
rinner ingen tår för likars väl.

Exactly this thought, the military code of honor which is impervious to humane feelings, is reflected in Ingeborg's words when Frithiof refuses to renounce his code of honor for her sake:

Ack! mannen är dock hård, och för sin ära
(så kallar han sin stolthet) räknar han
ej just så noga, om han skulle krossa
ett troget hjerta mera eller mindre.

In his *Würde der Frauen* Schiller represents woman as a factor indispensable to reconciliation and to the peace of the world:

(die Frauen) Lehren die Kraft, die feindlich sich hassen,
sich in der lieblichen Form zu umfassen,
und vereinen, was ewig sich flieht.

Likewise Tegnér's ideal of reconciliation is reflected in Ingeborg rather than in Frithiof, whose natural instincts and inherited ideals of conduct are opposed to her negative course of action.

¹⁷ Cf. F. B66k, *Esaias Tegnér*, I, p. 101 f.

By finally investing Frithiof with the new ideal of reconciliation, the poet unites in Frithiof the essentially feminine and masculine virtues which in his poem *Till damerna* he differentiates with perhaps undue severity born of his hatred for war and of his devotion to Christianity. The final reconciliation in the *Frithiofssaga* is in no small measure due to Ingeborg's unswerving fidelity to her own ideal of patient submission to (what she considers as) the inevitable.

Schiller's ideal of renunciation as the supreme test of character is most beautifully expressed in his poem *Resignation*. Tegnér's poem of the same name (*Resignationen*, 1808) reflects Schiller's idealism¹⁸ blended with his own personal attitude towards misfortune. Here, for instance, Tegnér shows that renunciation is not incompatible with man's pride (i.e., his sense of honor):

Är du stolt, välan, för ödets blinda nycker
hvi böjer du din hals af stål?
Mot jätten ofvanfrån, som hotar och förtrycker,
ställ jätten i ditt bröst, som tål!

This injunction to man in *Resignationen* is the very essence of reconciliation; patient submission is the Christian ideal of moral heroism which Ingeborg exemplifies:

dock mycket tål man, förr'n man förgås,

but which Frithiof in his pride fails to appreciate. Indeed, the poem *Resignationen* reflects an ideal which corresponds much more closely to the character of Ingeborg than does *Fridsroster* which in its earlier versions (*Försonligheten*, 1806; *Fördragsamheten*, 1808) represented Tegnér's ideal of reconciliation without reference to political events. *Fridsroster* expresses the ideal of reconciliation itself, while *Resignationen* expresses the ideal of those virtues which make reconciliation possible, and it is these virtues which characterize Ingeborg. The sufferings which resignation entails and which Tegnér describes in this poem are a part of Ingeborg's life story:

Ack! uppå glädjens graf jag ock min runa ristat,
jag gret hvad lifvet kärast har.

¹⁸ Cf. F. Böök, *Esaias Tegnér*, I, pp. 390 ff.

.....
Säg, har du aldrig stridt den ärofulla striden
för pligt, på en gång ljuf och sträng?

In resignation there is a dignity and pride which never tolerate self-pity:

låt öken blott din klagan veta,

and Ingeborg is the individual expression of this ideal:

Väl hörde ingen den ädlas klagan,
hon teg som Vidar i gudasagan.

The ideal of humility and patient submission (i.e., resignation) is both the vital essence of Christianity and woman's supreme virtue, therefore it was natural that Tegnér should have entrusted Ingeborg rather than Frithiof with this fundamental ideal (i.e., reconciliation) of the *Frithiofssaga*. But the spirit of Ingeborg, the spirit of humility and reconciliation is finally infused by the Priest of Balder into Frithiof's soul and thereby he (Frithiof) attains to that completeness of character which was Tegnér's, as well as Schiller's, ideal (cf. *Würde der Frauen*) of the human soul. Thus, the conclusion of the *Frithiofssaga* may well be symbolized in Tegnér's own words, when in *Till damerna* he says:

så förenas dikten med det sanna,
skönhet mildrar hvarje kraft till slut
och på livvets allvarsamma panna
plånar lätt hvar tankfull fåra ut.

h) Tegnér's Ingeborg and Bjørnson's Inga in "Mellem Slagene"

In conclusion it may not be out of place to note how differently this motif of *reconciliation* has been treated in "Gothic" form (i.e., in the Viking drama) by the great Norwegian poet, Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson. Bjørnson's great message to the world was *reconciliation thru love*, just as Tegnér proclaimed this ideal ("försoning är kärlek," *Nattvardsbarnen*) in all his poetry; both poets were apostles of the Christian doctrine of love as the only solution for the redemption of the world. All of Bjørnson's dramas are, in fact, built up upon this fundamental ideal which he entrusts for the most part, as did Tegnér and Schiller, to woman.

This ideal is, for instance, the fundamental thought in his first Viking drama, *Mellem Slagene* (1857). *Mellem Slagene*, in fact, reveals Bjørnson's ideal of life, just as the *Frithiofssaga* reveals that of Tegnér, viz., love and reconciliation. In *Mellem Slagene* Inga is, like Ingeborg in Tegnér's poem, crushed between the warring parties; on the one hand she is bound by her father and on the other by her chosen lover (i.e., her husband). In both works the dramatic conflict is the same and the solution is the same, but whereas Ingeborg brings about the reconciliation by submission to conventional traditions, Inga takes the matter into her own hands and, like all of Bjørnson's ideal women, by her own positive intervention effects the desired result. This is exactly that which Ingeborg refuses to do, since her position in society forbids any initiative on her part at variance with the traditional code prescribed for women. Bjørnson, therefore, in *Mellem Slagene* gives expression to the modern ideal of woman's individuality and thus converts the Old Norse ideal of the Valkyrie heroine into a positive force for good, inspired by the new doctrine of forgiveness and reconciliation. In Ingeborg, on the other hand, Tegnér created the ideal Scandinavian woman of his own era, a "Gothic" counterpart of his own idealism, limited by the vision of his time. Thru the Old Norse garb we can see in the character of Inga Bjørnson's modern ideal of action for the attainment of justice and happiness, while in the character of Ingeborg there is revealed the contemplative philosopher and poet, the disciple of Kant and Fichte, the Swedish idealist of the Romantic School.

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THE DRAUMKVÆDE

A NORWEGIAN VISION POEM OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

The following translation of the finest of the Norwegian ballads of the Middle Ages, while not pretending to render more than the content, seeks, nevertheless, so far as another medium permits, to convey some notion, however faint, of the solemnity and majesty of the original. We may entertain what hypothesis we will as to the origins of the folk-ballad, no one, not even the most ardent advocate of communal authorship, can doubt that the *Vision Poem*, the *Draumkvæde* (to give its Norwegian name) is the work of a great poet, one of the greatest, indeed, of that wonderful age that gave us the *Divina Commedia*.

The *Draumkvæde* is a representative of the rich apocalyptic literature of the Middle Ages, and one of the finest examples. Professor Moltke Moe does not hesitate to mention it in the same breath with the *Divine Comedy*, though of course in Dante's poem the old material has been transformed into something altogether new. *Draumkvæde* is dated by Professor Moe and Professor Falk at about 1220. Thoroughly medieval and Catholic, it lived in oral tradition in orthodox Lutheran Norway for seven hundred years, linking in the noblest fashion the Age of Faith and the Age of Science.

We have it now only in fragments, mostly from Telemarken, but as these broken bits have been fitted together by Moltke Moe, we may gain something like an adequate notion of what it must have been when it came from the hand of the poet.

I. PROLOGUE

1. Will you but hearken, I can sing
Of one right doughty man;
It was young Olav Aasteson,
And he hath slept sa lang.
It was Olav Aasteson,
And he hath slept sa lang.

2. He laid him down on Christmas Eve,
And deep sleep o'er him came;
He did not wake till Twelfth Night,
As good-folk churchward gae.
It was Olav Aasteson, etc.
3. He laid him down on Christmas Eve,
Now hath he slept so long;
He wakened not till Twelfth Night,
As the birds began their song.
4. He did not wake till Twelfth Night,
When the sun rose over the brae;
He saddled his fleetest filly,—
Churchward would he gae.
5. The priest stood at the altar,
Reading the service lections;
Olav sat him in church porch,
And told his wondrous visions.
6. The old men and the young men,
Full eager are they to hear
Whilst Olav Aasteson
Telleth his dreams of Weird.
It was Olav Aasteson,
And he hath slept sa lang.

II. THE BORDER LAND

7. I laid me down on Christmas Eve,
Deep sleep o'er me did come;
I did not wake till Twelfth Night
Just at the rise of sun.
For the moon shines,
And the ways they carry so far.
8. I have been up in the sky,
And in the black abyss;
I have seen the pit of hell,
And a glimpse of heaven's bliss.
For the moon shines, etc.
9. I have fared o'er hallowed water,
And over valleys steep,
Heard the water, might not see it,
Flowing in the deep.

10. My horse he did not whinny,
My dog he did not bay,
The morning lark was silent,—
Strange seemed to me the way.
11. In the first tide of my rapture
I wandered the field of thorn,
My scarlet cloak was rended,
And the nails of my feet were torn.
12. I came me to the Brigg of Dread,
Wondrous high in air;
It was all with gold bedecked,
And set with nails that tear.
13. The serpent thrusts, the dog doth bite,
The ox stands in the middle way.
Three creatures hold the Brigg of Dread,
Too fearful they to say.
14. The dog doth bite, the serpent stings,
The ox doth gore and fume;
No one may pass the Brigg of Dread,
Who gave an unjust doom.
15. I have passed the Brigg of Dread,
Both steep it is and high;
I have reached the dismal bog;
Now have I passed thereby.
16. I have crossed the dismal bog,
Bottomless, uncouth;
And I have passed the Brigg of Dread,
With grave-mould in my mouth.¹
For the moon shines, etc.

III. THE VISION OF PARADISE

17. I have reached the gloomy waters,
Where the dark-blue glaciers burn;
But God put it into my heart
That I away should turn.
18. Then turned I on the Milky Way,
Stretched off far to the right,
And I saw clear to Paradise,
All radiant in light.

¹ The symbol of death; since, of course, only as a dead person could a living being penetrate the world beyond.

19. Then saw I God's blessed mother,—
 No better could me gang;
 "Fare thou unto the Porch of Pain,
 There shall the judgment stand."
 For the moon shines
 And the ways they carry so far.

IV. PURGATORY

20. I was in the other world
 Many nights and slow;
 Only God in Heaven may tell
 Of all the woe I saw.
 In the Porch of Pain
 There shall the Judgment stand.
- The Murderers*
21. I saw there a youthful swain,
 The first sight I could see;
 He bore a child upon his arms,
 And sank down to the knee.
 In the Porch of Pain, etc.
- Usurers*
22. Then came I to another man,
 His cloak was all of lead;
 His wretched soul in this life
 The poor and gouged and bled.
- Movers of boundary stakes*
23. Then came I yet to other men,
 Red coals they bore in hand;
 God pity the wretched sinners
 Who move the bounds of land.
- The disobedient children*
24. Then came I to the children,
 So high they hung on the spit,—
 God pity the wretched souls
 Who curse their father and mither.
25. Then came I to the House of Pain
 The witches are kept therein;
 Forever they churn the crimson blood,
 Full sore is that to win.
26. Hot it is in the pit of hell,
 Hotter than man may think;
 The demons hung over a caldron of pitch,
 Threw in the sinners' limbs.

27. The Preliminary Judgment.¹
 There came a host from out the North,
 Hard they rode and many;
 Before rode Grutte Graybeard²
 And with him all his meiny.
28. There came a host from out the North,
 Methought it a woeful sight;
 Before rode Grutte Graybeard,
 On a horse was black as night.
29. There came a host from out the South,
 And fair it was, iwis;
 Before rode blessed St. Michael,
 And before him Jesus Christ.
30. There came a host from out the South,
 Methought it was the better,
 Before it rode St. Michael
 Upon a snow-white charger.
31. There came a host from out the South,
 It stretched so far away;
 Before rode blessed St. Michael,
 In his arm the trumpet lay.
32. It was the blessed St. Michael
 He blew a mighty blast;
 And all the wretched sinners
 Hastened to judgment fast.
33. Now trembled all the sinful souls
 Like aspen leaves in the wind;
 And all the souls were gathered;
 They wept their grievous sin.
34. It was the blessed St. Michael,
 Took out his mighty scales;
 He weighed thereon the sinful souls,
 And gave to Christ the tale.

V. THE MEDIEVAL BEATITUDES

35. Blessed is he who in this world
 Gives shoes unto the poor,
 He shall not pass barefoot

¹ The judgment held immediately after death to determine the soul's temporary abiding place; not the final doom at the Day of Judgment.

² Satan.

Across the thorny moor,
The tongue shall speak,
But truth shall answer
On Judgment Day.

36. Blessed is he who in this world
Giveth to poor folks bread.
He shall not fear in the other world
The bark of the Dog of the Dead.
37. Blessed is he who in this world
Giveth to poor folks corn.
He shall not fear on the Brigg of Dread
The fearsome oxen-horn.
38. Blessed is he who in this world
Gives clothes unto the poor.
He shall not fear in the other world
Upon the icy moor.
The tongue shall speak,
But truth shall answer
On Judgment Day.

In that fascinating survey of the apocalyptic literature of the Middle Ages which Moltke Moe contributed to the Feilberg anniversary volume, he has given an unforgettable picture of the first time he heard *Draumkvæde* sung.

Before my eyes a vision rises: the first time I heard *Draumkvæde* sung in Telemarken. A poor peasant hut far up in an out-of-the-way valley; a fall wind, and a driving rain against the window pane; through the great cracks in the floor an intolerable draft, and, seated on a stump over by the hearth, the aged singer. Painfully she fumbled about in memory for the half-forgotten strophes, and the voice was trembling and cracked. But as her memory cleared, and the emotion possessed her, her voice grew warm and rich, and the thin, furrowed cheeks flushed. It was the solemnity of the choral, the passionate sincerity of the hymn, the rapture of ecstasy; now and then the faint, quivering tone of distant chimes. I began to understand that this ballad could be handed down from mother to daughter and from father to son for seven hundred years, and in its sublimity possess the hearts and souls of generation after generation. It was as though I saw straight through turf and stone into an age that had vanished, an age of marvelously simple lines and spontaneity. But how far away, how far away! The peasant woman seemed to me like some faint survival of old, forgotten days.

University of Minnesota

MARTIN B. RUUD

REVIEWS

SWEDISH READER, edited with notes and vocabulary by A. Louis Elmquist.
Rock Island, Ill. Copyright, 1919, by Augustana Book Concern. Pp. VI,
259.

This book was originally published by the Engberg-Holmberg Publishing Co. The work of the editor is limited to the making of the notes and the vocabulary, as the selections contained in the Reader had been made previously by the publishing house. A very large part of the material was taken from *Min andra läsebok*, prepared by Ernst W. Olson and published by the Engberg-Holmberg Publishing Company.

The Reader is adapted to the needs of first year students, offering material of a moderate degree of difficulty. The first one hundred pages contain fables, fairy tales, and easy poems; the remaining fifty-four pages of text include some excellent poems, short stories, and sketches from Swedish history.

The notes have been prepared with great care and give valuable information not only with reference to grammatical points but also to historical characters and events referred to in the text. The editor makes clear, as occasion is offered, the distinction between the written and the spoken language. The vocabulary is complete and consistently worked out. The typography and the binding are pleasing.

JOSEPH ALEXIS

University of Nebraska

PEDAGOGICAL SECTION

BULLETIN V, FEBRUARY, 1922

Devoted to the Interests of the Teaching of Scandinavian Languages in America

NÅGRA AV SVÅRIGHETERNA VID UNDERVISNINGEN I NORDISKA SPRÅK HÄR I LANDET

Det bör från början stå klart för oss alla, att om vi skola hava framgång i vårt arbete för Skandinaviens kultur här i vårt land, måste vi se till, att de nordiska språken vinna burskap vid våra skolor, ty om detta icke sker, kunna vi först som sist lämna fältet.

Men nu är det ett ledsamt faktum, att man vid undervisningen i dessa språk mötes av åtskilliga svårigheter. Den första av dessa torde träda fram, då det gäller att hos de unga väcka ett tillbörligt intresse.

Vadan kommer då denna svårighet—denna intresselöshet? Grunden härtill är i de flesta fall att finna i hemmet, ty den riktning, som barnets tankar få där, följes merendels senare i livet. Och huru ofta inträffar här icke just det sorgliga förhållandet, att i hemmet alls ingenting göres för att väcka intresse för det, som hör Skandinavien till; ja, mången fader och moder tala med ringaktning därom, och—"äpplet faller ick långt från trädet." Huru illa handla ej sådana föräldrar mot sina barn! I hemmet kunde dessa utan ringaste svårighet inhämta kunskap i ett av de skandinaviska språken, och detta icke till skada utan tvärtom till gagn för landets språk. När barnen senare få ögonen öppna för dårskapen i en dylik ringaktning, huru få de ej dyrt betala sina målsmäns försumlighet! Men hos flertalet har hemmets nivelleringsarbete burit rika frukter, och det är ofta ett otacksamt göra att söka väcka till liv ett intresse, som hemmet sålunda nära nog förkvävt.

Vad som gäller hemmet, gäller också samhället såsom ett helt. Enligt Minnesotas skollagar äga vi skandinaver rättighet till en timmes undervisning om dagen i våra fäders språk i de publika skolorna. Dock är det ännu ytterst få, som hittills

begagnat sig av denna rättighet. I många samhällen av övervägande skandinavisk befolkning och av skolstyrelser av så gott som uteslutande skandinaviska medlemmar saknas dock på lässchemat de nordiska språken. Detta är ett sorgligt förhållande, som vittnar om en djupgående brist på intresse för det, som särskilt hör *dem* till, vilka hava sitt ursprung från höga Norden. Och vad som gäller våra "graded schools," gäller också våra "high schools."

Varpå beror denna intresselöshet? I första rummet på bristande kunskap i allt, som rör egna skandinaviska förhållanden. Detta först och främst hos målsmännen och såsom en naturlig följd sedan hos de unga. De skandinaviska folken—kanske främst svenskarna—hava alltid haft en benägenhet att underskatta det egna och såsom en följd därav överskatta det främmande. Allt, som bär utländsk prägel, anses av större värde än det inhemska, och följaktligen tager man vanligen mera kännedom om det förra än det senare. Handlar man så i själva hemlandet, vad kan man vänta av stamförvanterna på denna sidan Atlanten? Av alla arv från fädren synes detta bliva bäst tillvarataget av våra skandinaver här i landet.

Huru skall man då kunna väcka det erforderliga intresset för det skandinaviska? Helt enkelt genom att taga bort okunnigheten, som just fostrar intresselösheten. Således bort med okunnigheten om de nordiska tingen hos nordborna här i landet! Få barnen och ungdomen en verklig kännedom om vad det betyder att härstamma från höga Norden, skall nog intresset vakna till liv. Vårt yngre skandinaviska släkte går här ofta med den föreställningen, att det snarare är en skam att härstamma från skandinavien än en heder, och därför blyges man ofta för sin härkomst och ser ned på det säreget nordiska. Men här kunna stundom underverk göras. De unga ha i allmänhet ett öppet sinne för allt, som verkligen är av värde, och när de få lära känna det värdefulla i nordisk natur och nordisk historia, skola de nog få ett ändrat sinne och med stolthet framhålla sin skandinaviska härkomst.

Låt lärjungen vandra med sin lärare genom de skandinaviska länderna och skåda dessas härliga natur, vare sig den uppenbarar sig i Norges storslagna fjäll, Danmarks bördrika slätter

eller Sveriges mångfaldigt omväxlande naturscenerier. Undervisningen i Nordens geografi bör därför mycket tidigt komma in på lässchemat. Vi svenskar hava en förträfflig bok, "Nils Holgersons underbara resa genom Sverige," författad av Selma Lagerlöf, svenska folkets ryktbaraste författarinna. Genom denna bok få skolbarnen en levande kunskap om sina fäders land. Och jag antager, att våra norska och danska bröder även hava lämpliga geografiska läseböcker för sitt yngre släkte. Alltså: kännedomen om själva länderna i Norden är den kraftigaste häfstången, då fråga blir att upparbeta intresset för vad som är skandinaviskt.

Får detta efterföljas av ett liffullt studium av folkens öden, d. v. s. deras historia, skall nog intresset allt mera livas. Och gäller det historia, kan nordbon i sanning känna sig stolt. Ty få folk kunna uppvisa en ärorikare historia än de nordiska, vare sig vi gå tillbaka till vikingatidens stordåd, medeltidens riddarliv, eller vi följa med nyare tidens bragder på stridens eller fredens fält. Finner ungdomen, att de folk, från vilka den leder sitt ursprung, inte behöva att träda tillbaka för någon annat—att dessa tvärtom gå i spetsen på hart nära alla områden—då betvivlar jag ingalunda, att dess hjärta skall klappa varmt för allt, som räknas Norden till. Då skall också fädernespråkets studium bliva kärt; då skola de unga lustvandra i litteraturens rika blomstergårdar; då skall det rika arvet från fäderna vårdas med pietetsfull omsorg. Ungdomens entusiasm skall hava en helsosam inverkan på de likgiltiga hemmen.

En annan svårighet, som sammanhänger med nämnda brist på intresse, möter läraren i det sakförhållandet, att studiet av något av de nordiska språken för flertalet av vår skandinaviska ungdom saknar så att säga nyhetens behag. Det obekanta har alltid en säregen dragningskraft—detta gäller även språkstudier. Tyska eller franska, latin eller grekiska äro idel nya ting, och detta bidrager i sin mån att väcka intresse för saken. Men många av våra egna ungdomar tro sig kunna så pass norska, danska eller svenska, att de förhålla sig ofta likgiltiga inför ett fortsatt studium av nämnda språk och därför ej sällan underlåta att upptaga detsamma i sitt skolarbete. Men häri gör vår ungdom naturligtvis ett stort misstag. Näst engelskan torde vårt

s. k. modersmål ligga oss närmast och vara av största betydelse t. o. m. i det rent praktiska livet, åtminstone här i nordvestern. Här gäller således att få intresset så pass väckt, att de unga *börja* studera fädernas språk; och min erfarenhet är, att om de blott förmåtts börja, de utan vidare fortsätta, och mången, som kommit till skolan med ringaktning för sitt fädernespråk, har under ett djupare ingående i detsamma ofta blivit mest entusiastisk.

En tredje svårighet, som vi lärare ha att kämpa med, härrör sig från de olika grader av kunskap i språket hos medlemmarna i samma klass. Så är icke förhållandet vid undervisningen i de s. k. främmande språken. Alla lärjungarna utgå från samma förutsättning, d. v. s. de äga alls ingen kunskap i dessa språk. Detta underlättar arbetet för läraren, väcker ungefär samma intresse hos eleverna, och arbetet kan därför fortgå med en i det stora hela lika utveckling hos dem alla.

Med våra skandinaviska ungdomar ter sig saken helt annorlunda. Dessa komma till klassen med ytterst olika förutsättningar. Somliga ha alls ingen kunskap i språket; andra ha en, om ock ringa, kännedom av ämnet i fråga, och åter andra äro kanske tämligen väl hemmastadda i sitt s. k. modersmål. Huru nu kunna förlika så många olika kunskapsmått i en och samma klass? Huru förhindra, att icke de mindre försigkomna finna undervisningen allt för svår, under det att de mera försigkomma finna den allt för lätt? Huru förhindra faran av missmod hos de förra och likgiltighet hos de senare? Huru undvika att gå för långsamt eller för fort? Här tages sannerligen lärarens hela förmåga i fullt anspråk, då det gäller att förlika dessa olika element. Det bästa sättet är naturligtvis att dela klassen i olika avdelningar, så att varje avdelnings medlemmar få ungefär samma mått av kunskap i ämnet. Där detta kan ske, har man i det stora hela övervunnit sagda svårighet. Men där en dylik klassificering ej kan ske, får man söka göra så gott man kan uti en svår sak. Här torde den gamla regeln "om den gyllene medelvägen" med fördel kunna tillämpas.

De skandinaviska språkens studium i våra skolor är av jämförelsevis sen datum, och därför framträder—såsom en ny svårighet—bristen på lämpliga läroböcker i bjärt dager. Det

kräver lång tid och ett tålmodigt arbete, innan man kan få väl utarbetade läro- och läseböcker i ett språk—framförallt grammatik och ordböcker. Även lämplig litteraturläsning är ingalunda alltid lätt att finna, ty för mindre försigkomna klasser fordras goda förklaringar och goda ordböcker. Vad svenskan beträffar, har på senare tiden en välkommen livaktighet yppat sig med syfte att förminska denna brist på lämpligt undervisningsmaterial, och om jag känner våra skandinaviska bröder rätt, så ligga de nog inte på latsidan i denna viktiga sak.

Men trots detta synbara intresse hos våra ledande pedagoger, tager det dock tydligen tid, innan vi nå upp till vad exempelvis tyskan erbjuder i form av nödiga läroböcker: och under tiden får den nuvarande generationen av lärare och lärjungar brottas med denna svårighet; en annan generation—hoppas vi—skall genom vårt arbete känna den mindre, ja kanske inte alls.

Ännu en annan svårighet torde till slut nämnas. Denna uppkommer därigenom, att undervisningen i de skandinaviska språken börjas i allmänhet för sent i våra publika skolor. Ytterst få "graded schools" ha något av dessa språk på sitt lässchema, och detta är högeligen att beklaga, ty just här—i de lägre klasserna—är man mest mottaglig för språkstudium. Nu däremot väntar man, tills man kommer till högskolan, men det händer också ofta, att man väntar, tills man kommer till college. Även om de unga som barn fått lära sig språket i hemmet något så när, ha de dock hunnit glömma bort en stor del under högskoletiden—då ju språket fått ligga i lägervall, och engelskan har fått intränga i fädernespråkets både ordförråd och uttal.

Tiden medger ej ett fortsatt omnämnande av andra svårigheter, vadan det sagda må vara nog. Jag önskar blott tillägga, att vi, som intressera oss i de skandinaviska språken och den skandinaviska odlingen, ingalunda böra låta dessa och dylika svårigheter göra oss missmodiga uti vårt dryga arbete, utan att de snarare böra sporra oss till ännu större ansträngningar uti vår vandring framåt på den väg, som leder till det höga målet: en allt bättre insikt i och förståelse av de språk, som öppna dörrarna till Nordens rika andliga skattkammare.

Gustavus Adolphus College

K. A. KILANDER

ANNOUNCEMENT

Members of the Society will be interested to learn that a special Students' Tour to the Scandinavian Countries during the summer of 1922 has been arranged by The American Scandinavian Foundation under the general auspices of The Institute of International Education. The tour has been organized with the purpose of enabling American students to visit the Scandinavian Countries under capable guidance and instruction and under dignified auspices, and at a lower cost than would be possible under any other conditions.

The Students' Tour in 1922 will be the first visit of a large group of American students to the Scandinavian Countries. The group will be granted the official recognition of the Governments of Denmark, Norway and Sweden, and the courtesy of the great Scandinavian universities. The American-Scandinavian Foundation's correspondent organizations in the Northern capitals will co-operate to make the visit of the American students a notable one both as an opportunity for studying the art and culture, the natural resources, and the industries of the North, and as a demonstration of the unbroken friendship which has marked the relations of the United States with the Scandinavian nations.

On shipboard there will be lectures on the history, art, culture and industry of the Scandinavian Countries. During the trip on land the group will constantly be under able interpretative leadership, and under the occasional instruction of some of Scandinavia's most distinguished scholars.

The members of the Students' Tour to the Scandinavian Countries will sail from New York on July 1st, 1922, on the Cunarder "Saxonia" and return to New York on September 1st. For further particulars apply to Mr. James Creese, Secretary of The American-Scandinavian Foundation, 25 West Forty-fifth St., New York City.

The members of the Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study will co-operate, I am sure, in a movement which will tend to arouse interest in the Scandinavian languages and literatures and to increase the enrollment for Scandinavian courses in our American universities.

EDITOR

830.6 56

V.7 no.3

PHASES OF IBSEN'S AUTHORSHIP

PART I

SUBCONSCIOUS ELEMENTS IN THE COMPOSITION OF "PEER
GYNT"

To the observant reader it is evident that in the first three acts of *Peer Gynt* there are qualities in literary composition that mark these acts as quite distinct from the two following ones. The former, ending with Aase's death scene, seem to constitute a drama apart from the rest, without, however, being satisfyingly complete. And not only this: the hero in the last two acts is not so definitely and conspicuously human, and hence, not so natural, as in the first three acts. He is more of an abstraction. That he has been uprooted from his native soil and set adrift in the wide world, may in part account for the author's accentuation of the change in his naturalness. May it not, however, be due to something else—to the fact that in the former *Peer* is a creature of the poet's free-flowing fancy; in the latter a product of the poet's halting process of ratiocination.

At all events, critics have remarked on the poetic qualities of the first three acts,—the portrait of Mother Aase and Solveig, the scene in the Hall of the Dovre King, the Boyg scene, the Death of Aase—to mention the most characteristic parts of the first three acts. There is nothing in the last two acts, except in brief felicitous phrases and episodes, that has the sustained quality of poetic deftness and spontaneity to be found in the first three acts. I would not underestimate the fine touches, the purple patches, in the last two acts. But I aver that they are of different quality and substance.

Is it not significant that the Swedish philosopher and critic Hans Larsson (in *Studier och Meditationer*) in his essay on *Peer Gynt*, devotes twenty pages to the first three acts, and only eight to the two last ones?

Some one has called the first three acts of *Peer Gynt* 'ein Märchen-drama.' This suggestion leads to the observation that

these acts are permeated with folkloristic elements, which are almost entirely wanting in the last two.

Moreover, the first three acts seem to be, as the Germans say, '*aus einem Guss*.' There is evidence that such was not the case with the last two. The fourth act was an after-thought, and was spliced into place. Brandes, in an article written in 1867, speaks of the fourth act as being 'disjointed' with respect to both what precedes and follows: (*staar udenfor Sammenhængen med det tidligere og senere*), and he adds in a spirit of deprecation: "senseless in its satire, crude in its irony, and, in the last scenes, difficult of comprehension (*uwillig i sin satire, raa i sin ironi, og vanskeligt forstaaeligt i sine sidste partier*.'" *Henrik Ibsen*, p. 51). It is a very interesting part of the work, and we would not have it otherwise. My contention is only that it is different,—isn't of the same vintage.

The question then arises: Wherein does the difference lie?

The main difference, I should say, is that the first three acts are the result of a freer, more spontaneous poetic spirit, while the last two, though interesting and clever, are more labored and irregular. And, on the whole, the inspirational elements are of a lower order. The sustained vigor and intensity of *Brand*, to the end, are not equalled in *Peer Gynt*. There is shifting and floundering, though this is interwoven with the most dazzling sort of cleverness, with episodes of brilliant and ethically significant beauty.

So far as I am aware, the English critic Edmund Gosse has, more than any other, discussed the changed qualities in the last two acts of the poem, without, however, in any way trying to account for the difference.

Gosse says (*Henrik Ibsen*, p. 105) of *Peer Gynt*: "Written at different times and in different moods, there is an incoherency in its construction which its most whole-hearted admirers cannot explain away. The first act is an inimitable burst of lyrical high spirits, tottering on the verge of absurdity, carried along its hilarious career with no less peril and with no less brilliant success than *Peer* fables for himself and the reindeer along the vertiginous blade of the Gjende. In the second act, satire and fancy become absolutely unbridled; the

poet's genius sings and dances under him, like a strong ship in a storm. . . . The wild impertinence of fancy, in this act, from the moment when Peer and the Girl in the Green Gown ride off on the porker, down to the fight with the Boig . . . exceeds in recklessness anything else written since the second part of *Faust*. The third act, culminating with the drive to Soria Moria Castle and the death of Aase, is of the very quintessence of poetry, and puts Ibsen in the first rank of creators. In the fourth act, the introduction of which is abrupt and grotesque, we pass to a totally different and, I think, a lower order of imagination. The fifth act, an amalgam of what is worst and best in the poem, often seems divided from it in tone, style and direction, and is more like a symbolic or mythical gloss upon the first three acts than a contribution to the growth of the general story."

I have quoted liberally from Gosse, instead of drawing the distinctions myself, so as not to be accused of creating a situation for which to give an explanation. The attempt to account for the different qualities in the two parts of *Peer Gynt* will lead to a necessarily brief consideration of the nature of genius.

In a recent Norwegian work, entitled *Det geniale Menneske*, Christen Collin has an essay on the subject of genius. He tries to get at the question from the definitions and declarations of men of genius themselves. He begins with Carlyle's well-known words that genius is a "transcendent capacity for taking pains." He quotes a number of other great men, and seems best pleased with a statement that "a superabundance of vigor" (*kraft*) is the most striking mark of genius. Collin's essay is interesting, but is not illuminating on the nature of genius. He speaks rather of the qualities or characteristics of genius than of its nature or source.

In the same volume, Collin has an essay on *Peer Gynt*—a most interesting one, discussing particularly the personal note in the poem—in which he speaks of the varying qualities of the two parts, saying: "The first three acts, which end with Mother Aase's death-scene—where poetry and music are blended in exquisite harmony,—present an extraordinarily

clear bit of psychic analysis, and are at any rate as human portraiture, the most imperishable part of the poem. The last two acts, which consist of a series of comparatively loosely joined episodes, contain a multitude of brilliant and ingenious details (*glimrende og endog geniale enkeltheder*).” This quite agrees with Gosse’s characterization, and I see no need of citing other critics. Both Gosse and Collin, however, mention the difference between the two parts for quite a different purpose than I have in mind.

And now back to the question of the nature of genius. I have no contribution to make on that difficult question; but I desire to make use of a recent discussion of that question by a competent writer, H. Addington Bruce, in *Psychology and Parenthood*. He contends that in addition to the ordinary realm of conscious thought there exists in all of us a second realm, that of the *subconscious*, in which, quite apart from any directed effort of our will, the most varied mental processes are carried on. The subconscious is a *kind of workshop for the easy manipulation of ideas*. The more freely one can draw upon these resources, the more one ought to be able to accomplish in any field of work. In this circumstance the author is persuaded that we have the clue to the brilliance of the man of genius.

Bruce cites another writer (Frederick Myers) who says: “I would suggest that genius—if that vaguely-used word is to receive anything like a psychological definition—should be regarded as a power of *utilizing a wider range than other men can utilize of faculties in some degree innate in all*—a power of appropriating the results of *subliminal mentation to subserve the supraliminal stream of thought*; so that an ‘inspiration of genius’ will be, in truth, a subliminal uprush, an emergence into the current of ideas which the man is consciously manipulating of other ideas which he has not consciously originated, but which have shaped themselves beyond his will in profounder regions of his being.” And Bruce adds: “That the inspirations of genius are really nothing more than *spontaneous upsurgings* from the depths of the subconscious, is indeed demonstrable from the recorded statements of men of genius themselves.” Brandes,

Henrik Ibsen, p. 90, says "*Brand* og *Samfundets Støtter* ere i et Hovedpunkt saa forskellige, som vare de skrevne af to forskellige Forfattere. Det første Værk er i sit Væsen ren og skær Mystik, det andet drejer sig om ren og skær Prosa."

But in applying this theory, one must be sure to remember, as an illustration, that no man is going to solve great mathematical problems by subconscious assistance, unless he has filled that subconscious self with reflections and brooding on mathematics. For it is in the subconscious that memories are stored. And the product of subconscious processes will of course depend on the nature, quality, and quantity of the material stored there.

And another thing to be remembered is, in the words of Bruce, that, "Awake or asleep, it is from the resources of the subconscious region of their minds that men of genius gain the 'inspirations' that delight, benefit, or amaze posterity."

This is much as I dare take time to say concerning this theory of genius, which seems infinitely more satisfying than Collin's ideas on the subject.

The question now is to apply this knowledge, in a somewhat general and suggestive way, to the subject in hand: the subconscious elements in *Peer Gynt*.

Brand and *Peer Gynt* are the two particular works of Ibsen that, in accordance with his own declarations, were, on the whole, produced in the spontaneous manner that would accord with the inspirational process indicated by the psychologists that I have cited. One might be inclined to include *The Pretenders*, which was written in the incredibly short period of six weeks; but there is too much of the reality of an historic past in the frame-work of the drama to permit of its easy use as an illustration of the "spontaneous upsurgings from the depths of the sub-conscious."

In *Brand* and *Peer Gynt*, on the other hand, there is an entire absence of any definite frame-work representing either the past or the present. In other words, there is in these two works a freer scope for an unrestrained play of the poet's fancy.

I shall not go into an examination of *Brand* except to say that this work, in a higher degree than anything else that

Ibsen ever wrote, was a *spontaneous outpouring*. In a letter to Bjørnson, dated September 12, 1865, he says concerning the writing of *Brand*: "In the middle of July I began with something new, which flowed from my pen as nothing has ever flowed before . . . subject-matter and mood have ridden me like a night-mare. . . . The fourth act is now nearly completed, and I feel that I can write the fifth in a week; I am working both forenoons and afternoons, something I have never before been able to do." The whole long poem was completed in a little more than two months. (Koht, *Efterladte Skrifter*, p. XXXVIII.) And what does this signify? Surely this, that the poet was transferring to paper the "spontaneous upsurgings" from subconsciousness, as fast as he could write, without any apparent effort. The experiences of the preceding months had been lying as a ferment in the depths of his being, his subconscious self, in other words, where they had taken form without any process of whipping into shape, and only sought deliverance. I have somewhere read, but cannot now cite any authority, that at this time, if suddenly awakened, Ibsen found himself rhyming and composing.

But before leaving *Brand*, I desire merely to refer to *Gerd* in the poem. In the *epic Brand* she is a Gypsy girl, nothing more. In the *dramatic Brand* she plays a remarkable rôle; she is an eerie creature of such stuff as dreams are made of. She is in my opinion a product of subliminal mentation, as described by the psychologists I have cited. From some actual experience in the life of the poet, she got into the preliminary poem; after this was discarded she remained in the poet's subconsciousness where she assumed such guise as seems entirely foreign to any conscious cogitation.

Something over a year elapsed, after the completion of *Brand* before the composition of *Peer Gynt* was begun. In my opinion, a careful study of that interval of time in Ibsen's life will throw much light on his later career. I *believe* that his physical and psychic experiences of that period left a mark on him that changed the current of his literary life. But under the beneficent stimulus of the success of *Brand*, the granting of a poet's pension and also as a sort of continuation of

the *Brand* period, being in one sense a reply to his critics, *Peer Gynt* was undertaken. Ibsen has himself said of it that it came "as though of itself."

But I am inclined to asseverate that this applies truthfully to only the first part of the poem. It can easily be demonstrated that the poem as a whole did not come "of itself" in any such way or sense as *Brand* did, nor is it, as was *Brand*, *aus einem Guss*. In the first place it took him nine months, whereas *Brand* took only an equal number of weeks for its composition. According to a letter to his publisher, dated January 5, 1867, he reports that he has begun *Peer Gynt*; March 8 he reports that he is in the middle of the second act; and August 8 he reports that he has sent the manuscript for the first three acts, and hopes to send the fourth by the end of the month. By the middle of October he writes to Magdalene Thoresen that the work is complete.

Peer Gynt, it has often been said, is on the same theme as *Brand*. In a general way, the relation of the Norwegians to the Dano-Prussian war was the impelling force that led to the production of both. The mood in which he went to work at *Peer Gynt*, however, was entirely different. A brighter prospect in life, due to the success of *Brand*, and the effects of life in Italy, changed the somber and puritanic mood of *Brand* into one of playful recklessness and abandon.

The germs of the essential parts of *Peer Gynt*, particularly the first three acts, had lain in Ibsen's mind longer than anything that developed into *Brand*. *Brand* came into being as the result of a definite historical situation at a definite time. *Peer Gynt*, on the other hand, applies to the Norwegian people in a more comprehensive way, i. e., with respect to their foibles and failings.

In a happy moment—a moment of inspiration—Ibsen found a picture, in crude outline, of his people in a creature of Norwegian folk-lore—namely in the *Peer Gynt* of one of Asbjørnsen's stories. This is the germ of the leading character in the poem. As is well known, Ibsen's mind had been saturated with Norwegian folk-lore. He had been in the service of the state as a collector of these things, and the poem itself is proof

of the deep impression that Norwegian folk-lore had made upon him.

There was, therefore, in Ibsen's intellectual—or possibly I should say, subconscious—storehouse, a wealth of folkloristic material that was a most excellent brooding-place for just such thoughts and scenes as we find in the first three acts of the poem. In fact, that subconscious storehouse was so well filled with this sort of material that the “upsurging” began without any definite plan of the drama. It was to be some sort of a portraiture of the people. Bjørnson had portrayed them in a way that pleased or rather satisfied neither Ibsen nor Vinje. Ibsen wished to have his say on the subject. The unjust criticism of *Brand* also gave impetus to writing on the theme instead of continuing his plans for a drama on Julian the Apostate.

After warming to the task, folkloristic elements, with which his mind was surcharged, permeate the poem. The scene in the *Hall of Dovregubben* and the *Boyg* scene especially, sprung from folkloristic episodes that are in themselves arid and insignificant, seem to me the product of long continued subliminal mentation. They present leading ideas in the poem, and strike one, after careful consideration, as almost uncanny in their spontaneous ethical profundity. Aase's death-scene has touches of the same quality, but in no such sense as the parts just alluded to. This scene has received fine praise for its poetic beauty; but, to my mind, it called for no subliminal mentation to produce it. It is of the same order as some of the delicate descriptions of Agnes in *Brand*, and of Margaret and Jatgeir in *The Pretenders*, whereas the scene in the *Hall of the Mountain King* and the *Boyg* episode are akin, in ethical profundity, to the Gerd episodes in *Brand*, all of which to me seem to transcend the power and possibility of supraliminal mentation.

I find nothing in the fourth and fifth acts, except possibly the scene in the madhouse of Cairo, of quite the same nature. There are spots that seem to be of the same stuff, but some of the episodes that seem uncanny are not original in any such sense as the parts that I have emphasized. I do not deny that

they are wonderfully deft, clever, and felicitous. But they are not upsurgings from the subconscious that dazzle the reader, or rather startle him.

In conclusion let me mention a very slight incident in the first act of *Peer Gynt* which is startling in the highest degree.

Peer is on his way to the wedding. He meets the smith, Aslak, who banters him, and after Aslak and his company have departed, Peer soliloquizes and says, among other things:

"Kunde jeg med et slagtertag
rive dem ringagten ud af bringen!
(*ser sig pludselig om.*)
Hvad er det? Hvem er det, som flirer derbag?—
Hm, jeg syntes så visst—Nej, det var nok ingen."

What was it that was back of him? Peer was sure there was something. His quick and sudden turning indicates that.

Wasn't it perhaps a shadow of his better self, reminding Peer that he had better heed his own self-respect than the disrespect of others?

It is a profound touch, and makes me feel sure that it is the result of a subconscious experience, in dreaming or waking, that impressed the author, and led him to insert it. I suspect that few readers of *Peer Gynt* have ever noticed it.

Now we may ask: Why did the exuberance of the *Brand* and *Peer Gynt* period of Ibsen's life cease with these works at a time when he was not yet forty?

Weininger says: "*Wäre Ibsen der Ibsen des 'Peer Gynt' geblieben, er wäre grösser als Goethe geworden.*"

This question I shall now discuss under a new heading, as indicated in *Part II*.

PART II

THE HIATUS BETWEEN IBSEN'S DRAMATIC POEMS AND THE SOCIAL DRAMAS

An American preacher (Rev. Joseph F. Newton) has said, in speaking of Shakespeare: "Hamlet was not a creation of pure reason, but of swift and vivid artistic insight, and no doubt was as much a wonder to Shakespeare as he is to us."

It seems to me that the distinction made in this citation gives the distinction between the two periods of Ibsen's authorship: The *Brand* and *Peer Gynt* period, which, in its finest phases, reveals "*swift and vivid artistic insight*," and the period of the social dramas, which were largely, mainly, and essentially "*creations of pure reason*," expressed in bald prose.

In other words: *imagination* is the main source and characteristic of the dramatic poems; while *reason, intellect*, is the source of the social dramas.

I shall not enter upon a discussion of the relative value of a *drama of imagination* and one of *intellect*. I shall not try to deny that in the same author the latter may be strong and virile. At the same time, I feel that the former may be more significant, more psychologically profound, more akin to the eternal verities, with something of the eternity of sea and sky. The question in my mind then is: Why should a poet of less than forty, who had produced two such striking dramatic poems as *Brand* and *Peer Gynt*, suddenly desert the field?

After the completion of *Brand*, but before its publication, Ibsen wrote as follows, to a Danish literary critic (Clemens Petersen): "You once wrote of me that the versified form with a *symbolic meaning* was my most natural mode of expression. I have often thought of this, and think so myself; and in accordance with this idea the poem (*Brand*) has shaped itself."

And that Ibsen was satisfied with *Peer Gynt*, is evident from his vigorous defense of it in a letter to Bjørnson (Dec. 1867). He is discussing the criticism of the work, and exclaimed: "My book *is* poetry; and if it is not, it will be. The conception of poetry in our country, in Norway, shall be made to conform to my book." This is splendid insolence, and fairly good prophesy. For surely *Peer Gynt* has impressed itself upon the people of Norway as nothing else in their literature.

A competent English admirer of Ibsen (Wicksteed) says of *Brand* and *Peer Gynt*: "They have given Norway an exalted sense of national existence and national significance. They have been read by high and low, are known almost by heart by hundreds of Norwegians, and have enriched the thought,

the proverbial wisdom, the imagination, and the language of Norway. To the wanderer over fell and fjord, they are ever present; their magic lines so blending with the scenery they describe, that he *sees* them in the snow-field and ice-tarn; and the author of *Brand* and *Peer Gynt* is forgotten and lost—absorbed into the invisible and impersonal genius of the place which has become articulate through his words."

This is fine praise, and I think it is truthful. And I may add: No later play by Ibsen has *to any such degree* become the possession of so many of his countrymen,—has to any such degree entered their very souls.

Bjørnson, who did not at first like *Brand*, was wildly enthusiastic over *Peer Gynt*. Writing to Ibsen's publisher immediately after the publication of the work, he said: "If you write to Ibsen before I do, tell him I am quite bewitched by his book. . . . I am extraordinarily grateful for it."

And a few days later, in a letter to Ibsen, he wrote: "I am so grateful for *Peer Gynt* that I cannot remember any book that during my years of authorship has so challenged my nature to give a warm handclasp for what I have so warmly received. It is certain that no man and no book in Norway has hitherto given *me* the help that *Peer Gynt* has." And later in the letter he says: "Keep on, keep on! And if you need a rest, then play a while in a satirical poem, which is your *forte*. You need only to crook your fingers, and it will write itself. After *Peer Gynt* I am more sure of it than ever. But never cease sending out books like *Peer Gynt* so long as you can wield a pen." And in a postscript he reverts to the poem again in emphatic phrase. But despite Bjørnson's exhortation, and the Scandinavian public's great interest in both of the dramatic poems, this sort of writing comes to an abrupt close.

Such was not the case with either Dante or Goethe. The latter worked at the Faust poems nearly his whole life. And Dante's greatest visions came to him in his later years.

Now if I have contended that there is a change in Ibsen's authorship, I would not be understood as contending that the ethical development in his authorship changes. Even in such a phantasmagoria as *Peer Gynt*, where the author gives free

rein to his imagination, the ethical message is in line with both preceding and succeeding works. What I wish to call particular attention to is: that the *magic* of *Brand* and *Peer Gynt*, due to the exuberant imagination, free flowing fancy embodied in scintillating verse, does not appear in the works that follow *Peer Gynt*.

Clever American critics have noticed the change, although to most students in foreign lands, Ibsen is the Ibsen of the social dramas: the versifier, the imaginative poet, is comparatively unknown to them. Thus when *Peer Gynt* was being presented by Mansfield in 1906, one such clever critic of New York wrote: "*Peer Gynt* represents the fulness of the younger Ibsen, the rhapsodist, the romancer, the poet, the optimist. Nowhere are we furnished an explanation of the change which thereafter came over the dramatist. With *Peer Gynt* Pegasus unseated Ibsen. . . . The ice gathered about his heart, life became literal, his pen halted beyond prose, and he began the uninterrupted series of psychological studies of modern society."

Now it is my purpose to furnish, or rather to *suggest*, a possible explanation of this change. I shall not undertake to present incontrovertible proof of the correctness of my explanation. That would demand a variety of facts and circumstances that are not at hand, and doubtless will never be available.

It is rarely that Ibsen opened his heart in his letters. But in writing to Bjørnson he sometimes did, and it is in some of these letters to Bjørnson that I find some striking illumination of the point in question, and particularly in one of Bjørnson's letters in reply.

To get the point in this correspondence, it is necessary to know that there was, during the *Brand-Peer Gynt* period, a Danish literary critic of ability and reputation by the name of Clemens Petersen, whose good will Ibsen was eager to obtain. He wrote him a somewhat fawning letter,—a very unusual thing in Ibsen. Ibsen seems to have thought this man could make or mortally mar an author's reputation. He wrote a review of *Brand*, treated the book respectfully, but did not fail to deliver himself of some drastic criticisms. Ibsen, however, seems not

to have taken offense. He was, on the contrary, pleased with the distinguished critic's attention.

At this point it is to be noted that the manuscript of *Brand* was sent to the Copenhagen publisher in the fall of 1865. Ibsen hoped that it might be ready for the Christmas book trade. But the wary publisher seems to have hesitated about launching so polemical a poem during the holiday season. Ibsen was woefully disappointed. Worn out seemingly from the strenuous labors and nervous strain of the year, he became seriously ill. Edmund Gosse, his English biographer, is the only critic who speaks of this illness. Where he got his information, he does not say. But he writes: "In the winter of 1865 he (Ibsen) fell into a highly nervous condition, in the midst of which he was assailed by a malarious fever which brought him within sight of the grave. To the agony of his devoted wife, he lay for some time between life and death, and the extreme poverty from which they suffered made it difficult for her to provide for him the alleviation which his state demanded. He gradually recovered, however, thanks to his wife's care and to his own magnificent constitution, *but the springs of courage seemed to have snapped within his breast.*"

"In March, 1866, worn out with illness, poverty and suspense, he wrote a letter to Bjørnson, 'my one and only friend,' as he says, which is one of the most heartrending documents in the history of literature. Few great spirits have been nearer the extinction of despair than Ibsen was; now in his thirty-ninth year." So far Gosse.

Here, then, in critical days of illness and suspense, is, I suspect, the source of the transformation in Ibsen. But the effects are not yet evident. The great success of *Brand* revived and stimulated the poet. The world assumed a new aspect. After some months of rest and speculation on the next task, he was in January 1867, at work on *Peer Gynt*. It was begun in high spirits, and was carried through the *first three acts* with seeming ease. But of this I have already spoken. The poem, begun in January, was in the book shops by November. Bjørnson, as I have already recounted, was delighted, and wrote both publisher and poet to that effect.

At the time of the publication of *Peer Gynt*, Bjørnson was sojourning in Copenhagen, and was on terms of intimate association with the critic Clemens Petersen, who did not delay in giving a long review of *Peer Gynt*. I cannot see that it was any more drastic than the review of *Brand*. Ibsen did not take offense at this, as we have seen, but his wrath was stirred most vehemently by the *Peer Gynt* review. He did not write to the reviewer, but he poured the vials of his wrath upon Bjørnson, who some months previously he had called "my one and only friend." Why, forsooth? Because he was a friend of the critic and should have forestalled the publication of this review!

"If I were in Copenhagen, and anyone there was as near to me as Clemens Petersen is to you, I should have maimed him before I would have permitted him to commit such a crime against truth and justice." The letter is very violent and almost accuses Bjørnson of being *particeps criminis*. It is thoroughly unfair and unreasonable to Bjørnson, and despite this he concludes his letter with a marvelous outburst: "But one thing I do desire, even if outer and inner forces drive me to tear down the roof over my own head—I will always, so help me God, be and remain your faithful and sincere friend."

Those are not the words of a well man. The exacting labors on *Brand* and *Peer Gynt*, with attendant illness and poverty, were beginning to tell. And the big-hearted, sympathetic Bjørnson *saw that something was wrong*, and did not take offense. The letter that Bjørnson wrote in reply has never, so far as I know, been translated into any other language. And so far as I know, it has never been noticed by Ibsen critics. It was published in Norway in 1912. It is a very long and earnest letter, much of it devoted to an explanation of the review. I shall give in translation only those few paragraphs that bear upon the subject in hand. The letter is dated December 16, 1867, and begins:

"Dear Ibsen, I have just read your letter, and I must (in reply) begin by saying, what is imperative—namely, that this is altogether too serious a matter to *make me angry or to confuse me*: I am seriously frightened (that's the word), and nothing

else. Not on account of your suspicions against me, for they are nonsense, nor on account of your comical resolves for the future, all emanating from a single review; for a man who can think so profoundly and write so earnestly, even in mockery, must have himself so securely under control that he cannot, in vital matters, be swayed by the caprices of a newspaper article, even though these caprices are the product of Clemens Petersen.

"But I am frightened at this intractability on your part, not in a private affair, but in a most vital one. One can attack everything, but not the very condition of one's own existence. *If this is due to a physical condition in you*, you must leave Rome and the South without delay; for two or three more such attacks are sufficient to put the brand of Satan upon you. If it is something mental besides, then pray to your Lord and Savior, you strong and truth-seeking soul! Pray with that sincerity that God has given you; pray so that it penetrates the clouds of your mind; pray so that you become like a child, for then you will be just to us and have confidence in yourself. Pray as you doubtless now are teaching your child to pray; for this you have surely learned (which *Peer Gynt* shows) that we are not strong enough alone."

Fearing that Ibsen might inject his bitter spirit into some new poem, Bjørnson exhorts him not to reply to his critics "with wrath and bitterness in the holy garb of poetry. . . . Give them of your wine and not of your wrath, and if you give them of your wine, be sure that it will *be* wine to *them*." In conclusion he informs Ibsen that he will soon hear from the critic himself: "You may expect a letter that will speak plainly and affectionately." So far as I know, there is no record of any such letter, or one from the poet to the critic.

Ibsen did, however, reply to Bjørnson's long letter during the last days of the same month of December. He said, in opening: "A more blessed greeting than the one that came through your letter on Christmas Day, I could never have received. That cargo of stuff and nonsense that I shipped you in my last letter had the effect of robbing me of my peace of mind until I heard from you again. The worst thing a person can do

toward himself is to do injustice to others. Thanks because you with your noble mind and heart viewed the matter as you did. I saw nothing but endless discord and bitterness [i. e. between himself and Bjørnson]; but now it seems entirely natural that you viewed the case as you did, and not otherwise. I keep reading your letter over and over, in order to banish the torturing thought that I had wounded your feelings." And later he says: "My 'paroxysms' you must not worry about; they are in no respect indicative of sickness. But your advice to write a comedy I think I shall follow. I have been thinking of the same thing myself."

The comedy came finally, in 1869, but it was not in verse, and it grieved Bjørnson greatly. For it seemed to him and many others that in it he had caricatured Bjørnson. As a result there was a breach in their friendship that was not healed until 1882, when Bjørnson manfully defended Ibsen's "Ghosts."

Now, I hope I have said enough to indicate that there was a serious crisis in Ibsen's life about the time of the dramatic poems. The physical crisis, described by Gosse, and the mental crisis observed by Bjørnson, are the things which in my mind seem to account for the abandonment of the poetic form of *Brand* and *Peer Gynt*, or rather, are the things that clipped the wings of his fancy, and thus crippled his Pegasus.

Peer Gynt was written in 1867; the *Pillars of Society*, the first of the social dramas, in 1877. During the interval of ten years only two works, namely the *Young Men's League* and *Emperor and Galilean*, both in bald prose, were written. That is too little. Something must have happened!

An examination of the social dramas will not reveal any of the really *magic* elements of *Brand* and *Peer Gynt*. Power, vigor, social significance, yes; but not that *divine afflatus* which marks the dramatic poems.

One may at the same time remember that Ibsen's social dramas "revolutionized the art of the actor as well as of the dramatist;" that they were, moreover, "prime levers of the social revolution which is still sweeping over us," and still regret that he suddenly deserted the field of the poetic drama, and speculate on the causes of the change.

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DID JOHN SCOLVUS VISIT LABRADOR AND NEW- FOUNDLAND IN OR ABOUT 1476?

I

The question that appears as the title of this paper is not of recent origin. It seems to have been raised for the first time in 1859 by the German historian Kunstmann, who in a work on the 'Discovery of America'¹ called attention to an early Spanish source in which a Norwegian pilot is credited with a visit to Labrador, presumably before the expeditions to that country by the younger Cortereal in 1500 and 1501. Little attention was paid to Kunstmann's work and the problem was allowed to rest for a decade when it was taken up by J. G. Kohl (also a German) in his *History of the Discovery of Maine*.² Kohl dismisses "this somewhat celebrated voyage with the simple statement that it probably never took place"—at least it had nothing to do with Maine.³

A few years later Charles Deane, as editor of Hakluyt's *Discourse on Western Planting*⁴ found it necessary to deal with the Scolvus question; but he reached no conclusion. B. F. DeCosta, an American clergyman with geographical interests, seems to have been the next in the series. DeCosta added slightly to the available sources for the alleged voyage by his study of the so-called Rouen globe;⁵ otherwise his discussion was not fruitful.

In the Northern countries the problem seems to have been wholly ignored until 1886 when it was made the subject of an article by the late Norwegian historian Gustav Storm. Storm appears to have examined nearly all the sources that had been unearthed by Kunstmann and Kohl; but he was not impressed by their authority. While admitting that such an

¹ *Die Entdeckung Amerikas*, Munich, 1859.

² Maine Historical Society, *Collections*, Series 2, I. Portland, 1869.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 115.

⁴ Maine Historical Society, *Collections*, Series 2, II. Cambridge, 1877.

See p. 238.

⁵ In *Journal of the Am. Geogr. Soc. of New York*, XII, 1880.

expedition probably had sailed, he concluded that the country visited was Greenland and not Labrador.⁶

Henry Harris, whose writings on early American history have given him a place of peculiar eminence, found occasion to discuss the question of an early Scandinavian expedition to Labrador in a note appended to his work on the discovery of the New World.⁷ Harris did not care to express an opinion as to whether such a voyage was actually undertaken; but he saw no reason why it should be regarded as improbable.

The next writer of importance who undertook to sift the Scolvus materials was the famous Norwegian explorer, Dr. Fridtjof Nansen, who gives some space to the expedition in his great work *In Northern Mists*.⁸ Nansen had access to sources unknown to Storm and Harris; but he reached a similar conclusion: Scolvus sailed to Greenland not to Labrador.

While Dr. Nansen was writing the history of voyages into the Arctic, Axel Anthon Bjørnbo was preparing his Cartography of Greenland,⁹ a study of real and evident value which was unfortunately still unfinished at the time of the author's death. It was natural enough for Bjørnbo to come into agreement with Nansen and Storm; so he, too, directed the Scolvus expedition to Greenland.

But this conclusion could not be satisfactory to all students of Northern history. Among those who disagreed was Sofus Larsen of the University Library in Copenhagen, who in 1920 published a study of the Scolvus problem under the somewhat colorless title "Denmark and Portugal in the Fifteenth Century." Larsen's article appeared in the year book of the Royal Northern Antiquarian Society, in the volume for 1919.¹⁰ His study gave a new setting to the expedition and led to a series of novel conclusions. It attracted immediate attention and was received with great and favorable interest.

⁶ *Historisk Tidsskrift* (Norwegian), Ser. 2, V, 385-400.

⁷ *The Discovery of North America*, London, 1892. See pp. 657-58.

⁸ London, 1911. (Translation of *Nord i Taakeheimen*.) II, pp. 126-34.

⁹ *Cartographia Groenlandica: Meddelelser om Grønland*, XLVIII. Copenhagen, 1912.

¹⁰ *Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, 1919 (Copenhagen, 1920), pp. 236-312.

II

An outline of Sofus Larsen's argument would read somewhat as follows. Soon after the Portuguese expedition into the Tangier country in 1415, one of the Portuguese princes, the well-known Henry the Navigator, began to direct a series of expeditions southward along the African coast in the hope of reaching the Orient. But the progress was slow and when Prince Henry died (in 1460) less than half of the long distance from the Strait of Gibraltar to the Cape of Good Hope had been covered by the Portuguese navigators. Their caravels were still creeping slowly forward along the coast of Upper Guinea. Discouraged by the failure to find the much desired route to the Orient the Portuguese government turned to Christian I, King of Denmark and Norway, with a request that he send out an expedition to seek new lands beyond the western seas. This request may have been suggested by a statement in the writings of Claudius Clavus, a Danish cartographer of the fourteenth century, that navigators could make the journey by sea from China to Norway.¹¹ Such an expedition was actually sent. The famous captain, Diderik Pining, who was also notorious for successful piracy, commanded the expedition while a Norwegian navigator, John Scolvus, directed the venture as pilot. Two Portuguese subjects, João Vaz Cortereal and Alvaro Martins Homem, accompanied the expedition in the interest of the Portuguese king. Pining and Scolvus probably sailed from western Iceland, visited the shores of Greenland and then sailed south at least as far as Newfoundland which the Portuguese named the Codfish country (*Terra do Bacalhao*). On their return to Lisbon Cortereal and his associate prepared an account of the great journey which was widely circulated in the earlier decades of the following century, but of which no copy has thus far come to light.

The evidence on which this narrative is based is found in a series of documents, most of which date from the sixteenth

¹¹ Claudius Clavus quotes Sir John Mandeville, though perhaps incorrectly. See *Aarbøger*, 1919, p. 258.

century. These contain brief, almost casual, references to a journey by a Danish or Norwegian pilot to Labrador, or the regions bordering the northwest passage, in the fifteenth century. Nearly a dozen such references may be listed, but some of these are clearly variant forms and need not be noted under separate headings.

1. The earliest of these documents is the so-called Gemma Frisius globe, which was discovered some years ago by Walter Ruge in Zerbst, and which Bjørnbo believes was prepared in 1537. This globe shows a westward passage north of Labrador on the north shore of which the geographer has placed this legend: "Quij populi ad quos Joannes Scolvus, danus, pervenit circa annum 1476."¹²

2. The second source (which is, perhaps a duplicate of the first) is a brass globe usually called the Rouen globe or the L'Ecuy globe inscribed, according to Bjørnbo, about 1540. This bears the following legend in the Arctic north of Labrador: "Quij populi ad quos Johannes Scovvus, danus, pervenit, Ann. 1476."

3. In 1909 Louis Bobé found in the archives of Copenhagen a letter dated March 3, 1551, and written by Carsten Grip, the burgomaster of Kiel, to Christian III. Carsten Grip had a commission from the king to purchase books, pictures, and the like for the royal palace. The letter speaks of a map just published at Paris which notes the fact that "the two skippers, Pyningk and Poidthorst, who were sent out by your majesty's royal grandfather, King Christian I, at the request of his majesty of Portugal with certain ships to explore new countries and islands in the north have raised a great sea-mark on the rock Wydthszerck. . . ."¹³ This rock was probably on the southern coast of Greenland. As King Christian I died in 1481, this expedition must have gone out before that date.

¹² Gemma Frisius was a teacher of mathematics at the University of Louvain. He was associated with the more famous Mercator who inscribed the globe. The map was published (in part) by Bjørnbo in his *Cartographia Groenlandica*, 251.

¹³ Nansen, *In Northern Mists*, II, 126-27.

4. In 1553, Francisco Lopez de Gómara, a Spanish priest, published a "History of the Indies." Writing of early voyages to Labrador he makes this statement: "Hither also came men from Norway with the pilot Joan Scoluo and Englishmen with Sebastian Gaboto."¹⁴

5. In preparation for the voyage that sailed in search of a northwest passage in 1576, the Frobisher voyage, certain English geographers were asked by the English government to prepare a statement as to earlier voyages into the assumed ice-free passage north of Labrador. After a discussion of this mythical strait, the statement proceeds: "In the north side of this passage, John Scolus, a pilot of Denmark, was in anno 1476."¹⁵

6. Seven years later (1582) there was published in England a map (probably prepared by the famous traveler Michael Lok) which on an island in the American Arctic bore this legend: "Jac. Scolvus Groetland." It is not clear how this name (Groetland) came to be used, but it cannot be a variant of Greenland, for that country is found in its proper place farther east.

7. In his "Discourse on Western Planting" (written in 1584) the English geographer, Richard Hakluyt, includes an argument against the validity of the so-called Demarcation Line drawn by papal authority soon after the discovery of America. In the course of this argument he raises the following question: "Or wherefore did he [the pope] not openly rebuke the Kinge of Denmark for suffringe his subject, John Scoluo, a Dane, in the yere 1500 to seke the Straighte by the northweste of whom Gemma Frisius and Hieronyma Giraua, a Spaniard, make mention?"¹⁶

8. The Scolvus expedition is mentioned once more in a work on the 'Indian Continent' written by Cornelius Wytfliet,

¹⁴ *Historisk Tidsskrift*, Ser. 2, V, 386-90 (Storm's translation of Gómara's account of the northern lands).

¹⁵ See *Three Voyages of Martin Frobisher* (London, 1867, *Hakluyt Society Publ.*), pp. 3-4.

¹⁶ *Maine Historical Society, Collections*, II, 148. There are other allusions to Scolvus elsewhere in Hakluyt's writings, but they give no additional information.

a Dutch historian, and published at Louvain in 1597.¹⁷ Wytfliet informs us that Johannes Scolvus, the Pole [Polonus], "in the year 1476 . . . penetrated the northern strait under the very Arctic circle and arrived in the country of Labrador and Estotiland." In Storm's opinion, which is doubtless correct, Polonus is merely an incorrect reading of Pilotus or Piloto.

9. Nearly a century later George Horn, another Dutch writer whose geographical information seems, however, to have been derived chiefly from Wytfliet's work alludes to Scolvus in these terms: 'Joh [annes] Scoluus Polonus discovered under the auspices of Christian I, King of the Danes, the Anian Strait and the country of Labrador in the year 1476.'¹⁸

10. Sofus Larsen contends that confirmatory evidence of participation by Portuguese subjects in the Scolvus undertaking is found in a "History of the Islands," by the Portuguese historian P. Antonio Cordeyro.¹⁹ Cordeyro states that two Portuguese noblemen, Cortereal and Homem, were given official appointments in the Azores for having discovered the "Codfish country." These appointments are historic and apparently date from the year 1474. If these men actually did serve with Pining and Scolvus the latest possible date to which the expedition could be referred would be 1473.

III

On the basis of testimony thus far produced it seems possible to draw a few important conclusions with a certain degree of confidence. The sources are, it is true, of a very fragmentary character; but they are quite consistent and offer no serious problems.

1. There can be no doubt that an expedition actually did sail from Denmark-Norway into American waters about twenty years before the journey of Columbus, surely before 1481, perhaps as early as 1472 or 1473.

¹⁷ *Descriptionis Ptolemaicae augmentum*. Louvain, 1597.

¹⁸ *Ulysses Peregrinans*. Louvain, 1671. The Anian Strait was a mythical passage north of Labrador which, it was believed, led westward to the shores of Asia.

¹⁹ *Historia Insulana*. Lisbon, 1717.

2. The expedition was sent by Christian I on the suggestion of the Portuguese government. That such a suggestion should come from Lisbon is not surprising. Sofus Larsen shows conclusively that there had been for some time cordial relations between the courts of Lisbon and Copenhagen.²⁰

3. The expedition was commanded by Diderik Pining and was directed by John Scolvus. Pining was well acquainted with the waters of northern and northwestern Europe. In 1478 he appears in Iceland as a royal official of some importance.²¹ Concerning Scolvus nothing is known; but Sofus Larsen believes, because of the unusual name Scolv or Scolp, that he was a sailor from northern Norway.²²

There remains the important question: What shores did these sailors actually touch? Did they reach Greenland only or did they visit the more southern coasts of Labrador and Newfoundland? It may be well to note at the outset that none of the sources (except, perhaps, Carsten Grip's letter) indicates a visit to Greenland; in almost every case the Scolvus expedition is associated with the region of Labrador or the upper shore of a supposed northwest passage, the so-called Anian strait. The geographers of the sixteenth century had, however, no reliable knowledge as to shores and islands in the Labrador area and their statements can, therefore, not be taken at their face value.

What answer we shall give to this question will depend largely upon how we dispose of another problem: Did the two Portuguese noblemen, Cortereal and Homem, actually sail with Pining and Scolvus to the New World? Was Cordeyro correctly informed when he credited these men with the discovery of the Codfish country?

²⁰ Aarbüger, 1919, 241-54.

²¹ See an article on Didrik Pining by L. Daae in *Historisk Tidsskrift* (Norwegian), Ser. 2, III, pp. 233-45. Daae believes that Pining was a Norwegian belonging to the lesser nobility of western Norway.

²² The term *Skolp* seems to have been used as a nickname for the coast-dwellers in the Norwegian Nordland. See Aarbüger, 1919, 305-6.

IV

Sofus Larsen's discussion of this problem is perhaps the most important part of his article. Cordeyro wrote two centuries after the event and was not critical in the use of sources; but if it can be shown that his information on this particular point is reliable, there would be no reason to doubt that the mainland of North America was actually visited by European sailors twenty years before Columbus saw the West Indies.

Henry Harrisse, who wrote a biography of the Cortereal family,²³ argues strongly against the credibility of Cordeyro's account. His sources were not of the best; the document which pretends to record the appointment of the elder Cortereal to an important office in the Azores is incorrectly dated; no contemporary Portuguese writer makes mention of a visit to the Codfish country in the decade of the seventies; and Harrisse finds it particularly strange that Martin Behaim, the famous German geographer, who spent several years in the Azores and was related by marriage to the Cortereal family, makes no mention of Portuguese discoveries in North America on his famous globe of 1492.

Most of these objections the Danish writer is able to meet quite successfully. What sources Cordeyro used still remains somewhat in dispute; but aside from his account there are certain interesting facts that argue strongly for the participation of Portuguese subjects in the expedition sent out by Christian I.

1. In 1500 the Portuguese government issued a patent to Gaspar Cortereal allowing him to "rediscover" lands in the New World. It is therefore clear to Harrisse that Gaspar Cortereal had made earlier voyages to Newfoundland.²⁴ Larsen, on the other hand, believes that these lands had been discovered by Gaspar's father, João Vaz Cortereal.²⁵

2. Larsen calls attention to a Portuguese map dating from about 1571 which bears the name of the elder Cortereal twice in the Labrador region; once as 'Cape' João Vaz and

²³ *Les Corte-Real et leurs voyages au Nouveau Monde*, Paris, 1883.

²⁴ *Discovery of North America*, 59.

²⁵ *Aarbüger*, 1919, 300-301.

again as 'Bay' João Vaz. The author also alludes to another Portuguese map, dating according to Harrisse from 1534, which bears legends almost identical to those given above.²⁶

3. Larsen would also have us believe that Behaim's globe (1492), contrary to Harrisse's dictum, also bears witness to an expedition to northern America before the days of Columbus. Behaim's map shows a group of islands northwest of Iceland where "white falcons are caught." On a neighboring island an archer is taking aim at a white bear. It is possible that Behaim learned of white falcons and white bears from Cortereal in the Azores,²⁷ but one cannot be sure. Björnbo believes that he derived his information from other sources.²⁸

4. All the information that we possess concerning the Scolvus expedition seems to have been derived from a single Portuguese source. The best evidence for this is the fact that the Gemma Frisius globe contains in addition to the Scolvus legend a number of place names in the Labrador region which are unmistakably Portuguese. Evidently the Dutch geographer used either a Portuguese narrative or a Portuguese map containing all these details. Björnbo's assumption that a report was sent to Lisbon, after the return of the Danish expedition may be correct;²⁹ but it is also possible to argue with Sofus Larsen that this report was made to the Portuguese king by Cortereal and Homem.³⁰

While it cannot be affirmed in the present state of the evidence that Cordeyro's statement needs no further support, the evidence, such as it is, points directly to the conclusion that the Portuguese king was represented in the expedition sent out across the Atlantic by Christian I. In this same connection it may be noted that in 1476 Christopher Columbus came to Portugal and became a resident of that kingdom the following year.

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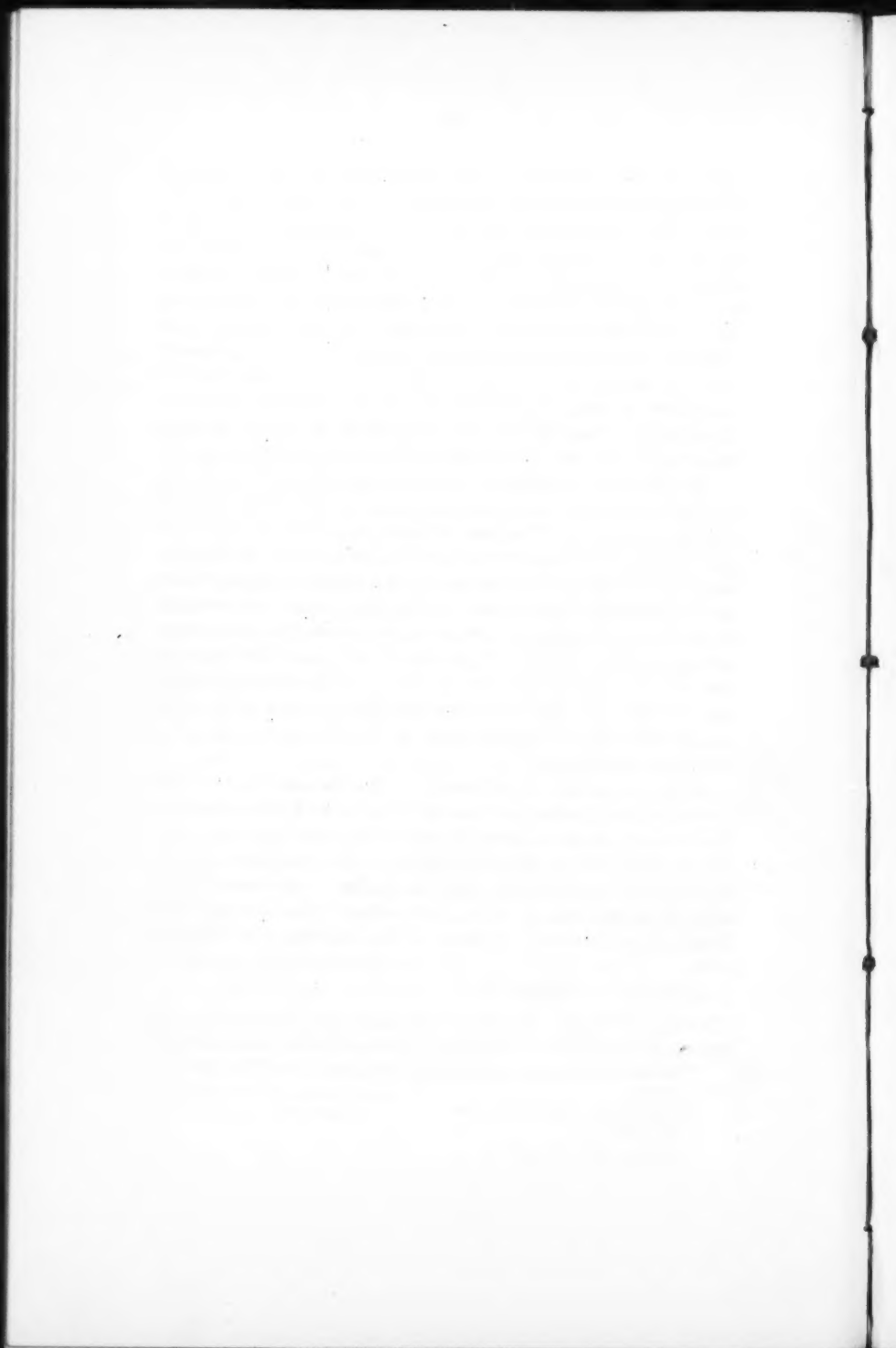
²⁶ *Ibid.*, 297 (note). For a copy of the earlier map (Labrador area) see Björnbo, *Cartographia Groenlandica*, 217. Björnbo dates the map about 1540.

²⁷ Behaim lived in the Azores during the years 1486-1490. *Aarbüger*, 1919, 299-300.

²⁸ *Cartographia Groenlandica*, 156.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 257.

³⁰ *Aarbüger*, 1919, 310-11.



ON DRAMATIC THEORY IN THE NORTH FROM HOLBERG TO IBSEN

I. *Ludvig Holberg*

Ludvig Holberg is the first writer in the North, who has expressed himself somewhat fully about what he regarded as the proper form and content of drama. He, furthermore, left a considerable body of comedies, which enjoyed great and long-continued popularity, not only in the North but also in other countries;¹ and his achievements were equally significant in other ways. The father of modern Danish and Norwegian literature became, through his comedies, also the founder of the national drama; and it was only through these that the enterprise of a national theatre which was launched in Copenhagen in September, 1722, could be realized, and was realized. Holberg had no forerunners in the country of his birth or in the country of his adoption; he inherited no dramatic tradition. In saying this, however, I hasten to mention the name of Mogens Skeel, who translated Molière's *Tartuffe* in 1666, and who was probably also the author of *Grevens og Friherrens Comedie* (The Comedy of the Count and the Baron) of the year 1678, written in imitation of Molière.² The latter is a satire on the newly created nobles of the time of Christian V, and their silly efforts to acquire the graces of speech proper to the rank to which they had been elevated.³ In the use of the vernacular and a native subject for drama Holberg's *Den politiske Kandestøber* (The Political Tinker) is not, then, absolutely the first Danish comedy. But Skeel wrote nothing else so far as we know, and his comedy could not have been much known. Its priority to Holberg

¹ Some of them are the most popular comedies on the boards in Copenhagen even to-day.

² See Olaf Skavlan: *Holberg som Komedieforfatter*, 1872, p. 22, and especially *The Comedies of Holberg* by O. J. Campbell, 1914, pp. 86-87. On satiric and comic poetry by Bergen authors about 1720 see Just Bing: *Norsk Literaturhistorie*, 1904, p. 17.

would seem to be about the only importance that attaches to it. But isn't it possible that Holberg learned something from Peder Dass, the poet of Alstadhaug (Norway)? The latter's *Nordlands Trompet*³ and his *Dalevisen* are masterly portrayals of the life and the people of Nordland. That the humor and the characterizations of these may have suggested possibilities to Holberg in the manner of his later comedies seems to me exceedingly likely.

In September, 1722, the Danish Theatre (*Danske Skueplads*) was founded as a place *at indrette og forestille Komedier i det danske Sprog*.⁴ The theatre was formally opened on Sept. 23 by the performance of Molière's *Gnieren* (*L'Avare*). Almost from the first, however, circumstances seemed to have selected Holberg as the one who was to take the leading part in the building up of a native Danish drama and theatre. Holberg had looked with disfavor upon the conduct of the theatre in No. 326 *Lille Grønnegade* during the early months of 1722. He was not in favor of the plan of a repertory of French and German plays (they were mostly French) in Danish dress. He desired nothing less than to make the new enterprise the means of fostering a native drama. However, there were no native writers to furnish the needed plays. Nor had Holberg written any plays yet; but he had in 1719 published the first book of his incomparable *Peder Paars*, a satire on Danish life in the form of a parody of Virgil's *Aeneid*. There can be no doubt that those admirers who early in 1722 encouraged Holberg to turn to the writing of comedies, had discovered in the characters, the situations, and the humor of *Peder Paars* the evidences of a great dramatic gift on the part of its author. Somewhat later he received the invitation to write for the new theatre, and he accepted; and on the occasion of the opening of the *Danske Skueplads* he presented it with five comedies: *Den politiske Kandestøber*; *Den Vægelsindede*; *Jean de France*; *Jeppe paa Bjerget*; and *Gert Westphaler*.⁵

To write five comedies in eight months was a remarkable achievement, and two of Holberg's very best are in the number.

³ Dass lived 1647-1709.

⁴ "To arrange and present comedies in the Danish language."

⁵ The 5-act version.

And when these were published in the summer of 1723 we learn from the preface that he has ten more ready. All this becomes quite astounding when we bear in mind the lack of a tradition for native drama on which to build. Of course it is well known that Holberg was an admirer and student of Molière, it has been shown that he knew the *commedia dell' arte* of Italy,⁶ and he knew the classics well. Thus he was familiar with much of the best of the comedy that held the boards in his day. But we may well question whether Holberg had any definite theories about the technique of drama and its traditions when he undertook the office of dramatist for the new theatre. It has been shown that Holberg's two first dramas were extensively changed for the first printed edition; *Den Vægelsindede* (The Fickle-minded One) was very loosely constructed as it first left Holberg's hands. And *Den politiske Kandestøber* was cut down and changed in many places in the effort to give it a better form before it was printed in 1723.⁷ Also *Gert Westphaler*, was originally written as a five-act play; then it was rewritten as a one-act piece, in which the changes are so numerous that it is practically a new play. The general view that Holberg appears at the outset as a mature dramatist is hardly exact; and yet it is true in so far as there was no long period of apprenticeship. And in that connection I note again the fact that the first five comedies were published in their revised form less than a year from the time they were completed in the first form; and that at the end of that same year, along with his other duties, he has ready ten new comedies.⁸ Writing so rapidly as he did in 1722 and the first half of 1723, fifteen comedies in a year and a half, most of these fifteen must have been practically improvised. The result is numerous contradictions and irregularities. In *Jeppe paa Bjerget* the minister is sometimes called *Jesper*, sometimes *Paul*; in *Den Vægelsindede* the weather is both bad and good at the

⁶ See Campbell, l. c., pp. 139-196. See also Hans Brix: *Edda*, xi, pp. 120-145.

⁷ See also C. C. Werlauff: *Historiske Antegnelser til Ludvig Holbergs atten første Lystspil*, 1858, p. 25, and especially Skavlan, l. c., pp. 130-133.

⁸ These are: *Den Ellevte Juni*, *Borselstuen*, *Det Arabiske Pulver*, *Julestuen*, *Mascarade*, *Jacob von Tyboe*, *Ulysses von Ithacia*, *Kildereysen*, *Melampe* and *Uden Haved og Hale*.

same time; certain plays are so loose in structure that, when later he revised them for the printed edition, whole scenes had to be omitted; they had no connection with the main action. This is the case with *Den Vagelsindede* and *Barselstuen* (The Lying-in Chamber). Some of these scenes were later used in other plays. All this would seem to show that Holberg at the outset, that is in 1722, had no very fixed theories as to the best dramatic form, but that during the year from the summer of 1722 to the summer of 1723 he developed a theory and a practice concerning the best form of comedy for his purpose. And this, as we know, was not at all in complete accord with the doctrine of his time. And it is a matter of much interest to note wherein he was independent.

In a survey of Holberg's views of drama it would seem best to consider by themselves the years 1722-1728, and then separately the closing years of his life. The former are the years of his greatest productivity, all but one of his best comedies belong here, twenty-eight in all; the latter period comprises his last six comedies and the dramaturgic letters of the last years of his life. With regard to the former I shall, however, be obliged to be very brief. His practice in the years 1722-1728 may in general be characterized by the acceptance of the doctrines of the time, but a use of the rules to suit exigencies. He sets out by professing acceptance of these doctrines as practiced by the French, and he condemns the irregularity of the English writers in these matters. In *Just Justesens Observations on the Comedies*, 1723, he holds that it is essential for a writer of the drama to know the rules that ought to be observed. He praises the French comedy and criticizes the English for the simplicity of action in the former and the lack of it in the latter; and simplicity he considers to be as important in comedy as in tragedy. He professes to hold that the 5-act division is mere pedantry, but nevertheless he is nearly always careful to practise it. Thus in *Den 11te Juni* (The 11th of June) the Interlude is not counted as an act, for the play already has five acts; but he counts the Interlude in *Kildereysen* (The Journey to the Spring), in order that the play may be regular in respect to the five acts. In *Uden Hoved og Hale* (Without Head and Tail) there is a Prolog and

four acts, thus this, too, has 5 parts. In the German translation the Prolog was omitted to Holberg's great chagrin, for the piece was thereby *reent fordærvet*,⁹ he says. He insists strongly on the three unities; his *Ulysses of Ithacia* was written to ridicule their violation. But in respect both to the unity of time and to the unity of place he allowed himself to interpret them in accordance with the requirements of his material. *Jeppe paa Bjerget* is a case in point; here the material required a longer time than 24 hours. He disregards especially often the unity of place, but he covers over the fact as much as possible, by failing to designate the place. He wishes to observe the unity of place, but he finds it impossible to do so. Sometimes he makes a change to bring the play in harmony with this unity. In *Den politiske Kandestøber*, as originally written, the *kollegium* takes place in a wine-cellar; but in the second printed edition, 1724, it is transferred to Master Hermann's own house, out of respect for the unity of place. In general, however, he disregards this unity. It is clear that Holberg recognizes the value of the rules, but he refuses to be bound slavishly by them. If his double purpose of education and entertainment seemed better realized by a different form, he would give it that form.

*Naar kun Tilskuerne fornøje sig og ler
Saa, skjønt mod Reglerne, det dog Comoedie er.*

I shall pass now to some observations in his Epistles, 1748-1754. These epistles are of great importance and they are delightful reading even today. Their scope is limited only by Holberg's interest, and there would seem to have been nothing in the wide world that Holberg couldn't find interest in. There are 542 epistles in all, published in five volumes, of which I and II¹⁰ appeared in 1748, and the Vth after his death in 1754; the first 4 vols. of the original edition comprising 1862 pages, including 446 of the 542 epistles. In subject they range from such themes as "The Present Fashion in Women's Skirts" and "Why Cats are Superior to Dogs" to the latest "Discoveries in Science." He discusses agriculture, government, economics,

⁹ "utterly ruined."

¹⁰ The first 183 epistles.

education, philosophy, religion; he gives us his views about ancient literature, medieval life, music, art, modern manners. Kings, shoemakers, opera singers, fanatics and "pedants" are analysed as he sees them; a propos of the last, he finds that there are pedants in all classes and occupations, and rather less among schoolmen than among others. He has much to say about the military; he evidently does not like them. I am not sure whether he likes the women, but he clearly finds them interesting, for it becomes necessary to devote many of the best epistles to them. To the student of Holberg a special value attaches to the epistles to-day because of the light they throw upon his personal affairs. We learn not only about the state of his health and his mode of living, but also why he willed his property to Sorø Academy, and why he did not finish his History of Denmark. Literature was of course a major interest with Holberg, and the epistles contain a wealth of observations about his own authorship and about his comedies. These epistles are often called forth by criticisms of the form of his comedies; they furnish us with the reasons why he wrote as he wrote, and what he held to be the best form in drama. I shall summarize observations in epistles 66, 180, 190, 238, 249, 360, 374, and some parts of his Autobiography.

It will be convenient first to note briefly his ideas about the unities and the division into acts. He deals with these matters in Epistle 66, and again in 249 and in his Autobiography. In the first he mentions the fact that foreign critics have praised his comedies much, but that some of them point out faults as, 1) that his characters are exaggerated; and 2) that *unitas loci et temporis* are not always observed. Answering the second he admits the necessity of the rule, and he calls attention to the fact that his *Ulysses* was written to show into what errors one may fall in violating those rules. Then he adds: "However, a good writer of comedies must not make himself such a slave of rules as to reject an excellent story and the most suitable materials for comedy. There are certain stories which offer the opportunity for the best and the most delightful comedies, but which also are of such a nature that the unities of time and place cannot possibly be observed in them." Then instancing the neces-

sity for a freer treatment of such material in his own practice he justifies it by the great delight that the performance gave the audience. Wherever the subject permitted it he would observe the rules, as he had, he says, in *Henrik og Pernille* "som kan passere for en Plan, hvorefter ordentlige Commoedier bør indrettes."¹¹ And he adds: "Many a play does not deserve the name of a play, although all logical rules are observed in it. They are but conversations divided into acts and scenes, which in elegant style inform us about what took place in four or six hours in a certain place." And his concluding statement is that: "The matter is above all rules, the author should obey or not as his reason dictates." This seems to be nothing less than a break with that part of the rule which involves the first two unities. On the validity of the third unity, that of action, Holberg felt he could not insist too strongly.

Regarding the division into acts he holds, in epistle 249, that five acts is the best plan upon which a drama may be constructed. But in his Autobiography he has arrived at a different opinion; in discussing his *Huus-Spøgelse*, one of his last plays, he speaks of its division into three acts and he says: *som er den bekvemteste Deling*,¹² *og hvorved et Hoved-Stykke gjøres meest ordentlig*. Now according to the view of the time, the five-act structure was the only proper one for serious drama (and this doctrine was practiced for a hundred and twenty-five years after that). That is, there was to be a division into five parts just as there were five phases in the action: exposition, rising action, climax, falling action, and catastrophe. But none of these five phases are in any written drama coextensive with the corresponding act; the complication that starts the action, so that the condition of repose is changed to one with a conflict going on, always takes place within the first act, say the middle of it or often somewhat nearer the beginning than that; and the catastrophe comes only in the last scene of the fifth act. Hence Holberg's view on five or three acts quoted above, which seems to be his final opinion, indicates, perhaps, that the five act

¹¹ Which may pass (be considered) as a plan upon which regular comedies ought to be constructed.

¹² "The most convenient division (way of dividing)."

division is not a valid practice, for there are really only three parts in a drama: the development, the climax, and the denouement, and corresponding to these, the three-act structure is the best one. I shall, of course, not go more into this point here.

Regarding the criticism that he carried his characterizations into extremes I shall merely say that Holberg justifies his practice by the necessities of the case: exaggeration is necessary for the desired effect. See discussions upon this, e.g., in N. M. Petersen: *Den danske Litteraturs Historie*, vol. IV, O. Skavlan; *Holberg som Komedie Forfatter*, pp. 147-150, and other Holberg literature.

Under the title "About the Correct Judging of Plays," Epistle 190, Holberg speaks somewhat fully of the decline of literary taste. "Judging from the translated plays," he says, "it would seem that the art had died with Molière." He is severe in his criticism of the French for their loud applause of Destouches. The cool reception recent French comedies have received in Denmark speaks well for Danish taste, he considers; it has not been spoiled, he feels, as has French taste. He himself reads most of the new plays, but he finds it a difficult thing to do, and the chief effect of it is that he has come to think more highly than ever of Plautus and Molière. "One may say that from the Age of Plautus to Molière, a round number of 2,000 years, no significant (*anseeligt*) play has come to light." "For, so far as the comedies of Terence are concerned, I am not of the same opinion as those who make so much ado about them, even to the point of preferring them to the plays of Plautus. For that wit, that gayety (*den Geist, den Festivitet*), which is the soul of a comedy, and which gives life to the very theatre is lacking here." Holberg, here, as always, emphasizes the necessity of practical experience of the theatre for a right judgment of drama. "Noone can judge a play unless he has made a study of the theatre and observed by experience what effect a comedy has on the stage." Of those who sit at home and write criticisms of plays without having seen them played he says: "These can judge only of style, moral sentences, and the regularity of a piece; and yet experience teaches us that a comedy which is composed in accordance with all academic rules is yet not a

comedy. For many a play, which in the reading appeared to be of little consequence, has proved most effective on the stage. The importance and the validity of a play is not based on the criticisms of learned journalists, but on the applause of the audience." Holberg is the first writer in the North to emphasize these things, that the presentation on the stage is the real test, its effectiveness in the acting is the criterion of its worth. Now to be sure a play as a form of literature which presents life in terms of action depends for its success, as a play, on the appeal that it has to the audience. Holberg wrote with two aims always in view: to educate and to amuse. But here the two are really one, for success in the former depends on how successful he at the same time is in entertaining the listeners. But in thus emphasizing here, and elsewhere, the regard for the applause of the auditors he is, no doubt, in danger of permitting his concern for and his practice in reference to the second purpose to run counter to the first, and so in a measure to abandon his educative purpose in the effort to give his audiences that which should amuse and hold them. And Holberg is aware of this danger, for he at once adds: "When I say the auditors I mean only those who have a natural and unspoiled taste." And he observes that it is applause of this kind that has stamped its approval upon Molière's comedies and his own comedies at the Danish Theatre, whereas most other translated pieces were not able to maintain themselves. But the reservation that he has made, you see, is a very important one. The author himself must be the judge of how far he is to seek the applause of the audience, what part of his public must be considered. Of course he distinguishes between intelligent applause which applauds art, and vulgar applause which responds to anything that amuses. And he distinguishes between good natural taste on the one hand, and acquired taste on the other, which may often be bad. Hitherto the taste in Denmark has been good, he says; but he does not feel secure for the future. He sees about him now and then evidences that in literary matters the taste is becoming depraved; that which is French is given approval, though it may have no merit whatever.

If Holberg here and elsewhere seems to aim his criticisms specifically against French plays and Parisian taste, it is not in a spirit of hostility to French writers, where he found both that which was excellent and that which had no merit. It is prompted by the consciousness that there is evidenced in Denmark at the time, 1748, a tendency to turn uncritically to French models, a condition which he found harmful to native drama and Danish literary culture in general. Some months later this tendency has evidently taken more definite shape in spite of his efforts to stem it; thus in Epistle 249 he speaks of the change of taste, and he mentions the type of plays that now seem to find favor (*The Magic Bowl, Vulcan's Staff, The Oracle*). "You may see that in these matters I speak from the same motives as in other matters, that I always work with the aim of raising the standard of taste among my countrymen; for this has been my chief desire in most of my writings." "Comedies have two purposes (*Sigter*), namely to entertain and to instruct at the same time." In connection with this, the educative value of the stage, he says in Epistle 392: "As a comedy is a school for the whole nation, so plays may also serve as a school for the young. For the presentations and performances which are given by living persons are capable of producing far-reaching effects in the characters of those witnessing it, since in its acting one sees oneself reflected better than in the examples one may read in history."

In the last pages of his Autobiography he touches upon a great variety of questions connected with the traditional doctrine about drama. I shall select a few of his observations. There is, for example, the notion that a comedy will not do unless the persons of it consist of "marquises and cavaliers." "One must say," he says, "that when the characters are well enacted the station in life represented by the persons is of no importance; it is but a silly French notion (*Grille*), which it is not necessary to observe, any more than the rule that a play must deal with love and end in a marriage. The rules for our thoughts and activities, our writing and our living, ought to be our common sense (*den sunde fornuft*) and not a nation's fleeting fancy (*en flygtig nations Phantasie*). I do not observe rules, however universal (*almindelige*) they are, when I find that they are not well

founded. I have, therefore, often recommended verse without rime, and that tragedies may be written in prose." He has tried to pave the way, he says, for other writers of comedies to throw off the yoke which the unfounded custom of our time has laid upon our writers. Specifically about the convention that the action in a comedy must revolve about a love-affair and end in marriage, he calls attention to the absence of love in many of his own best comedies. Of *Huus-Spøgelse* he says: "In the whole play there is no talk of love, and what is even more, no female character has any part in it. What would a French writer say if he heard that a comedy had been so constructed? He would exclaim: 'a comedy without a woman in it is nothing less than a carriage without wheels!' " However, he did this only as an experiment; he says, "for, after all, the women of a play are the chief magnets to attract an audience." While he has written over thirty comedies, he has not tried his hand at tragedy, and, he adds, he has no inclination for it, "for I am repelled (*væmmes*) by all that is affected, and set on stilts, as it were."

If Holberg had felt himself called upon to turn to tragedy we may be sure that also here he would have sought to pave the way for a more natural form of expression; he recommended prose as a vehicle of tragedy equally valid with the Alexandrine. He disliked bombast and the grand style, and I am inclined to think he would have found that suitable subjects for tragedy are not the exclusive possession of high personages. In short, Holberg is far ahead of his time in his theories about drama. We may say, I think, that in some points he is a hundred years ahead of his time.¹³

May 4, 1922

GEORGE T. FLOM

(To be continued)

¹³ Of recent Holberg literature I may here mention especially the article by Hans Brix in *Tilskueren* for September, 1922, pp. 165-181: particularly significant is the fact that Brix points out how much in the five first comedies is taken from Holberg's *Peder Paars*, pp. 167-169. In connection with the question of sources Francis Bull's article in *Holberg-Aarbogen*, 1921, should of course be mentioned.

The last book on the subject that has come to my hand is one entitled: *Den danske Komedies Oprindelse. Om Skuespilpladsen og Holberg*, by Eiler Nystrøm, Copenhagen and Christiania, 1918. Pp. 248.

FRITHIOF PÅ SIN FADERS HÖG

In this canto (*Frithiof på sin faders hög*) Tegnér prepares his hero for a conversion to the new doctrine of Christianity which the priest of Balder expounds in the final canto, *Försoningen*. This preparation consists in the purifying process of prayer and a devotional communion with self and with nature. Not until Frithiof has completely and fully realized his guilt is he ready to receive the final act of atonement. The canto *Frithiof på sin faders hög* is essentially a soliloquy on the subject of sin and atonement, and as such it merits special consideration in the analysis of the poem. There is much here which is characteristic of Tegnér and it is with a view towards clarifying these elements that the following article has been written.

First of all, it is highly significant that Frithiof here enters into this state of spiritual communion. Such an inward contemplation in the quiet retreat of *Baldershage*, where all nature surrounds him with its benign influence, is true communion with God and therefore religion in its highest sense. Tegnér here reveals a cardinal doctrine of the Romanticists, viz., that inspiration comes to all lofty souls who are in tune with the Infinite.¹

Romantic traits are also clearly marked in the symbolic interpretation of natural phenomena; such as the setting sun, the symbol of purity, with its red glow upon the mountain-tops, symbolizing the blood upon Balder's sacrificial altar, i.e., Frithiof's guilt. The vision of Balder's Temple itself is but the symbolic idealization of atonement.

Frithiof's sense of guilt is quickened by the contemplation of the scenes of his childhood which surround him. The Romantic poet thus enhances an emotion which is to culminate in a drastic accusation of self. The melancholy, introspective Frithiof betrays those peculiarities which Tegnér himself possessed in a

¹ Cf. my article "Romantic Elements in Tegnér's Religious Philosophy," *Scan. Studies and Notes*. V, 7, 1919, pp. 217 ff.

superlative degree and which mark his hero as the individual expression of the national character.² But such an expression is greatly enhanced by the poet's method of contrast, which brings Frithiof face to face with himself, as he once was in the innocence of his childhood days and as he now is, exiled and disgraced.

Frithiof's sense of guilt, while having its inception in a single act, is, nevertheless, based upon the conviction that the crime he has committed is due to certain qualities of his own character (i.e., his lack of self-control, his sense of individual liberty and his wilfulness). These qualities were to a large degree characteristic of Tegnér himself and in Frithiof's communion with self we see reflected a personal confession on the part of the poet,³ as well as a delineation of certain dominant phases of Scandinavian character.⁴

Frithiof's reckoning with himself, while assuming both an individual and a national significance, may also be viewed as a question of universal import to humanity. In the last analysis we have to do here with the great question of sin and atonement. The solution which Tegnér seeks for this question is based upon a fundamentally Christian ideal, for Frithiof must first accomplish an inward purification⁵ before the outward act has any real religious significance. Therefore, Frithiof must first pass thru the ordeal of judgment before the tribunal of his Norns (who have determined his character and his fate) before he can

² Cf. Tegnér's own *Anmärkningar såsom inledning till Frithiofs Saga* (1839).

³ Cf., e.g., his letter to G. F. Åkerhjelm, Jan. 22, 1826: "Täta anfall af hypokondri och leda vid hela det menskliga lifvet, i synnerhet med mig sjelf, omvexla som oftast med transitorisk, öfvermodig och utsväfvande glädje. Mitt sinne är okristligt, ty det har ingen sabbat."

⁴ Cf., e.g., *Gerda*:

Än i dag hvar Nordens son
kommer ej så lätt ifrån
jätten i sitt bröst, som pockar
jämt på sjelfbestånd och lockar
jämt till uppror eller knot
alla himlens makter mot.

⁵ Here Tegnér follows out his own ideal that religion is a development from within and that its outward expression or ritual is but the symbolical interpretation of the thing in itself: "teknat är ej saken."

be shrived by the priest of Balder, the exponent of Christian atonement. Conscious of this fact, Frithiof voluntarily prepares himself to face his judges; so he says in *Konungavalet*:

Till Balders hage vill jag gå,
har möte stämnt
med mina nornor der: de stå
och vänta jämt.

It is with himself that he is struggling.

The question of Frithiof's individual crime is, however, only one phase of the larger question of sin as the expression of character. That Tegnér thus expanded the question of sin from an individual crime into the universal relation of sin to character (the source of all deeds good or bad) seems to me entirely in keeping with the poet's purpose in writing the canto *Försoningen*, which like *Fridsröster* (1808) and *Nattvardsbarnen* (1820), gave voice to the poet's religious ideals.

The question at stake is fundamentally not Frithiof's individual crime in burning Balder's Temple but the relation of that crime to Frithiof's character. Therefore, Tegnér lessened the moral import of this crime in proportion as he revealed Frithiof's attitude towards God (not the god Balder but the Christian God as revealed in the Christian character). We feel Frithiof less and less reprehensible in proportion as we appreciate the inner struggle against self which he fought and in which he finally triumphed. Thus we see blended the Greek ideal of Fate (which robbed man of his free will and thus rendered him irresponsible of guilt) and the Christian ideal which is based upon charity for inherent qualities of character. Not only in the treatment of Frithiof's guilt but in all questions of morality Tegnér was in his poetry far more natural and sympathetic than artificial and imitative. In according Frithiof charity Tegnér did not (as Ljunggren⁶ maintains) merely imitate the Ancient

⁶ Cf. G. Ljunggren, "Tegnér's Frithiofs Saga," *Smärre Skrifter*, Lund, 1872, p. 43 f.: "Men här röjer sig sannolikt ett inflytande från den af skalden högt ställda Grekiska tragedien. Karakteriskt för den tragiska skulden efter antik uppfattning är, som bekant, att den framställs såsom ett verk på samma gång af den handlande hjälten och af en utom honom stående magt, såsom på en

Hellenic ideal of Tragic Guilt (which at the same time is not guilt), but also sought to give voice to his own religious ideal that "the symbol is not the thing" (*tecknet är ej saken*). The thing in itself is Frithiof's *character*, one expression of which resulted in an act for which he must atone. But atonement for this single act necessitates a re-birth of the spirit, which will remove the cause of sin. Tegnér here speaks in terms of universal import to humanity and consequently Frithiof's individual crime assumes a character of far less seriousness than that which the objective view pertaining to Balder and the infringement upon the god's sanctity involve. In other words, the individual element is here fused into the universal, wherein the question of guilt and atonement is solved in terms of spiritual character. Sin exists in proportion to our moral sense and is not measured by any one outward act; a conventional sin is not synonymous with a sinful spirit. As to either the Old Norse or the Hellenic ideal of Fate, Tegnér utilized these only in so far as Frithiof (i.e., humanity) is not responsible for certain inborn characteristics (cf. *Försoningen*).

The first step towards atonement is remorse and the canto *Frithiof på sin faders hög* reveals Frithiof as overcome with a sense of guilt and self-accusation. His only fear is the fear of the god Balder, which is a 'Gothic' interpretation of the Christian fear of God. Frithiof's fear of God is a proof of his humility and a sign that he is now prepared to perform the outward act of atonement. The fact that he appeals to Balder's magnanimity to forgive him for a single wrong act committed in a moment of weakness:

försmå ej ångern, låt en lefnads ära
försöna dig för ögonblickets fell

is only the expression of Tegnér's humanitarian ideals which were fundamental to his religion, and has nothing to do with the question of irresponsibility or of Fate. Frithiof's sense of help-

gång skuld och oskuld. Frithiofs skuld är, liksom den antike heroens, en ofrivillig och dock en självvållad.

"Ditt tempels brand var icke Frithiofs tanka."
säger han till den vredgade guden."

lessness and his feeling of dependence upon a higher power are a clear reflection of his Christian attitude towards the Deity:

Min skumma blick, min gissning blott du lede!⁷
ett ädelt sinne tål ej Balders vrede.

Furthermore, Frithiof's prayer to his dead father in the burial mound, asking him to reveal the secret of atonement, is a typical feature of Romantic poetry. The dead were supposed to be in possession of the great secrets of the universe; a conception which Tegnér repeatedly utilizes in his elegies.⁸

But prayer is not answered by a direct word of mouth from the dead or from God. Prayer is an attitude of mind towards the Creator and is answered only thru a spiritual response which flows back from the infinite source of the spirit. Tho the grave is silent, Frithiof receives in answer to his prayer the spiritual vision of Balder's Temple. Thus, prayer reveals the law of spiritual communion with the Deity, which results in an inspiration comparable to the manifestations of the miraculous, a conception in full accord with Tegnér's interpretation of miracles and divine revelation:⁹

"O, jag förstår er, mör från tidens källa,
Det var ditt tecken, hjeltefader god!"

⁷ Cf. this sentiment with that expressed in Cardinal Newman's hymn "Lead, Kindly Light."

⁸ Cf. especially *Till friherrinnan Martina von Schwerin* (1839):

och gåtan, som vi fåfängt gisse här,
det tros att ordet dertill finnes der.

Cf. my article "Tegnér's Poetic Treatment of Death," *Scan. Studies and Notes*, VI, 4, 1920, pp. 102 ff.

In this conception of Frithiof's attempt to communicate with the dead there is perhaps a reflection of Ossian's influence upon Tegnér, cf. Fredrik Bök, "Tegnér och Ossian," *Sammlaren*, XXXVII, 1916, pp. 141, 153.

⁹ Cf. my article "Romantic Elements in Tegnér's Religious Philosophy," *Scan. Studies and Notes*, 1919, pp. 217 ff. When, for instance, in his sermon *Vid kyrkoinvigningar i Gårdsby* (1837) Tegnér says: "Men det största undret är dock inom er själva, i en själ, som anar hans (Guds) väsende, i et hjerta, som känner hans kärlek, som hoppas på hans barmhertighet" he has given expression to the same principle as that which wrought for Frithiof the 'miraculous' vision of Balder's Temple.

It is further significant that Tegnér refers to this vision as a *tecken*¹⁰ (i.e., 'symbol'); the thing in itself (i.e., in its transcendental significance) was Frithiof's spiritual inspiration which was to result in a restoration of his integrity of character and in his spiritual re-birth. He had received God's mercy by a humble attitude of devotion.

When Frithiof approaches his father's burial mound, he meditates upon the great question of death:

Här är min faders grafhög. *Softer* hjelten?
Ack! han red hån, der ingen kommer från.

It is possible that we here have a reminiscence from Shakespeare's *Hamlet* (III, 1) where Hamlet in his famous soliloquy philosophizes on the subject of death:

to die,—to sleep:—

.
The undiscover'd country from whose bourn
No traveller returns.

This is all the more likely in that elsewhere in the *Frithiofssaga* there are undoubtedly traces of Shakespeare's influence. Shakespeare was the great poet of humanity and the ideal of the Romantic writers.

After Frithiof has sensed the real meaning of his vision, he sinks down in quiet rest upon his father's grave. He has thus attained to that peace of mind necessary for atonement, as the poet says in *Fridsröster*:

i din egen barm du flykte
och slut frid med världen der!¹²

¹⁰ In depicting the vision of Balder's Temple it seems to me quite possible that Tegnér was influenced by the Biblical conception of the New Jerusalem which came down out of Heaven, symbolizing the Church of Christ in all its consummate glory; cf. Gal. IV, 26, Heb. XII, 22 and Rev. III, 12.

¹¹ Cf., e.g., the scene between Frithiof and Ingeborg in *Frithiofs lycka* with *Romeo and Juliet* III, 5; and in *Frithiofs frelse* Frithiof's temptation to murder the defenseless old King Ring as he slept under Frithiof's protection:

Niding, vill du mörda sömnen? vill du värnlös gubbe slå?
with the parallel situation in *Macbeth* II, 1:

Macb. Methought I heard a voice cry *Sleep no more!*
Macbeth does murder sleep;—the innocent sleep.

¹² Cf. *Försoningen*:

försoning bor,
här nere som der uppe, der friden bor.

The preparation for atonement is now complete, for Frithiof's soul is now at one with the divine law of love essential to atonement.

The canto *Frithiof på sin faders hög* thus serves as an introduction to *Försoningen* and like "skaldens löpning på sin harpa" strikes the key note which resounds in clearer tones when the final act of atonement takes place. The sermon by the priest of Balder can not be rightly interpreted without a clear understanding of Frithiof's attitude towards himself and his crime, as revealed in the preceding canto. One most important feature in the priest's doctrine of atonement is thus made clear, viz., that Frithiof's crime was not the result of Fate but the result of his own wilful and impious attitude towards God, the abuse of his divine inheritance (*gode gudars gåfva*). The conventional crime was not the real sin for which he must atone,

"Ditt tempels brand var icke Frithiofs tanka."

The real sin lay in his succumbing to the temptations of evil, those inborn weaknesses personified as the work of *Nidhögg*¹³ (*Satan*). As Henrik Ibsen¹⁴ reflected in the characters of Brand and Peer Gynt much that was characteristic of himself and the Norwegian people, so in the *Frithiofssaga* and especially in this canto (*Frithiof på sin faders hög*) Tegnér reveals in the character of Frithiof that which was at once personal and national. If Frithiof possessed those qualities which resulted in the collapse of Tegnér's own genius (viz., his morbid introspection, his lack of moral equipoise, his pessimistic attitude towards humanity and his selfish wilfulness) he was, nevertheless, like Tegnér himself, absolutely honest (*bottenärlig*), and it was this fundamental honesty and humility which made his redemption possible. Frithiof's soliloquy before the final atonement reveals this fact and proves the poet himself as true to his own thesis in life, "tecknet är ej saken." Tegnér never wished to be believed

¹³ "Den grymme Nidhögg ifrån mörkets värld" symbolizes in Frithiof's case the same evil power as Tegnér's own *svarialf* (in *Mjeltsjukan*).

¹⁴ Cf., e.g., Ibsen's letter of Oct. 28, 1870: "Brand er mig selv i mine bedste Øieblikke, ligeså visst som jeg ved selvanatomi har bragt for dagen mange træk både i Peer Gynt og i Stensgård."

better or greater than he really was. His modesty and humility were proverbial and these were the main features in Frithiof's character when he at last came to his better self. In this respect Frithiof is a reflection of Tegnér's own soul, not only at his best moments, as Ibsen says of himself with reference to Brand (cf. foot note 14), but as he naturally was at all times. It was these great qualities of the spirit, as well as his poetic genius, which made Tegnér one of the most beloved poets of the North. His emphasis upon the dignity of religion and of human conduct:

hvad sjelf du brutit gäldar ingen ann för dig,

was a courageous and noble act. But no one can atone for a wrong deed, until he has fully and completely recognized that act as wrong, and this is one of the hardest things for humanity to realize.¹⁵

In *Frithiof på sin faders hög* Tegnér reveals those secret thoughts with which all sinful humanity is afflicted. That Frithiof, unlike Peer Gynt, has kept alive *den himmelska lågan*¹⁶ ('the heavenly flame') is only a proof of Tegnér's conviction as to the divinity of man and his essentially benign character. Tegnér's Frithiof thus becomes the poetic counterpart of the better man, whose honesty and contrite heart are no mean encomium upon the poet and upon the Swedish people.

ALBERT MOREY STURTEVANT

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¹⁵ It will be noted that Frithiof accuses Nidhögg of his (Frithiof's) crime. But the priest of Balder makes it clear that Frithiof must hold himself responsible for his own reckless conduct:

Men kraft förutan fromhet tär ock bort sig sjelf,
som svärdet tärs i högen: hon ar lifvets rus,
men glömskans häger svärfvar öfver hornets brädd,
och när den druckne vaknar, blygs han för sitt däd.

¹⁶ Cf. *Fridsröster*:

Menska, någon himmelsk flamma
lefver i dig, vårda den!

Frithiof keeps alive 'the heavenly flame' by responding to his better impulses.

THE TWELFTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF SCANDINAVIAN STUDY

The Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study met at Svenska Klubben, 1258 N. LaSalle St., Chicago, Ill., on Friday and Saturday, May 5th and 6, 1922.

First Session, Friday, May 5, 2 P. M.

The meeting was called to order by the President, Professor Henning Larsen.

The reading of papers was then begun.

1. Did John Scolvus visit Labrador and Newfoundland in 1476? By Professor Laurence M. Larson, University of Illinois. (20 minutes.) This paper was discussed by Professors Lee M. Hollander, Henning Larsen, A. M. Sturtevant, Jules Mauritzson, Geo. T. Flom, and Mr. Wm. A. Peterson. The article appeared in Vol. VII, No. 3, of SCANDINAVIAN STUDIES AND NOTES.

2. Tegnér's *Frithiof på sin faders hög*. By Professor A. M. Sturtevant, University of Kansas. (20 minutes.) The paper was discussed by Professor Jules Mauritzson. The article appears in this issue of SCANDINAVIAN STUDIES AND NOTES.

3. The Etymology of the Name *Hamlet*. By Professor Kemp Malone, University of Minnesota. (15 minutes.) Discussion by Professors Julius E. Olson, Lee M. Hollander, and Jules Mauritzson.

4. *Gustaf Adolf* as an Example of Strindberg's Conception of the Historical Drama. By Professor Harry V. E. Palmblad, Phillips University. (20 minutes.) Discussion by Professor Geo. T. Flom, Mr. Aksel G. S. Josephson, Professors Julius E. Olson, Henning Larsen, and Jules Mauritzson.

5. Eddic Notes. By Professor Lee M. Hollander, University of Texas (15 minutes.) The paper was discussed by Professors Geo. T. Flom, Jules Mauritzson, and Henning Larsen, and by Mr. J. C. M. Hanson. The article will appear in a future number of SCANDINAVIAN STUDIES AND NOTES.

6. Report of the Teaching of Scandinavian Literature to non-Scandinavians. Professor Julius E. Olson, University of Wisconsin. (20 minutes.) Discussion by Professors Harry V. E. Palmblad and A. M. Sturtevant and by Mr. J. C. M. Hanson.

Thereupon the chairman appointed Professors O. A. Tingelstad and Kemp Malone as a committee to audit the treasurer's report, Professor Jules Mauritzson, Professor C. N. Gould, and Mr. Aksel G. S. Josephson as a nominating committee, and Dr. Lee M. Hollander as a committee of one on resolutions.

There were thirty-six present at this session.

At six-thirty dinner was served at the Club, at which sixty persons were present. The address of welcome was given by Mr. John E. Ericson, President

of Svenska Klubben, to which a response was made by Professor Henning Larsen, President of the Society. Professor Julius E. Olson served as toastmaster and called upon Consul Olaf Bernts and Mr. Andrew Hummeland for after-dinner speeches, after which Mr. Charles S. Peterson spoke on "Swedish-American Art."

Following the dinner the Swedish Glee Club delighted the Society with such selections as "Norrländ," "Naar fjordene blaaner," "Olaf Tryggvason," and "On the Sea." Professor Jules Mauritzson delivered an address in Swedish on the subject: "Erik Axel Karlfeldt: en studie i nysvensk diktning," after which the Society listened to beautiful selections on the violin, played by Mr. Bruno Esbjörn. Mr. Carl O. Williams contributed readings from Fröding. Professor Joseph Alexis spoke on the membership of the Society and mentioned the fact that over ten percent of the members lived in Chicago and its suburbs. Professor A. M. Sturtevant discussed Scandinavian literature, and Professor Laurence M. Larson called attention to the significance of Denmark and the Danes. Unison singing of Scandinavian songs was led by Professor Julius E. Olson, and "Gluntarne" were rendered by a trio consisting of Professor Olson, Dr. Einar Jöranson, and Dr. A. T. Dorf.

Second Session, Saturday, May 6, 9:30 A. M.

The business meeting was called to order by the President, Professor Henning Larsen.

It was resolved to establish a class of membership to be designated patrons of the society, consisting of persons who because of substantial gifts to the society are made life members. Such members are to be elected at the annual meeting.

Mr. Victor F. Lawson and Mr. A. J. Marschall were elected patrons of the society.

The report of the Secretary-Treasurer was accepted together with the report of the Auditing Committee.

The report of the Editor was accepted.

It was resolved that the editor be allowed to set aside twenty-five copies of each issue of SCANDINAVIAN STUDIES AND NOTES, beginning with Volume VII, to be used for distribution in libraries of Central Europe.

It was resolved that the investing of the funds of the Society be entrusted to a committee consisting of the President, the Secretary, and the Editor.

The officers elected were:

President, Professor Henning Larsen of the University of Iowa.

Vice-President, Dr. Martin B. Ruud of the University of Minnesota.

Secretary-Treasurer, Professor Joseph Alexis of the University of Nebraska.

Educational Secretary, Miss Maren Michelet of South High School, Minneapolis.

Editor of Scandinavian Studies and Notes, Professor A. M. Sturtevant of the University of Kansas.

Members of the Advisory Committee for three years: Professor Chas. A. Williams of the University of Illinois and Professor Harry V. E. Palmblad of Phillips University.

The Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study desires to convey to Svenska Klubben of Chicago an expression of appreciation of the cordial hospitality shown at the twelfth annual meeting. The Society wishes further to thank the Swedish Glee Club for its splendid singing and Mr. Bruno Esbjörn for his delightful selections on the violin.

It was moved and carried that the President send a letter of thanks to Dr. Henry Goddard Leach for his kindly interest and constant co-operation in our work during his years of service as Secretary of the American-Scandinavian Foundation.

Reading and discussion of papers resumed:

7. The Frithiofssaga an Oriental Tale. By Professor C. N. Gould, University of Chicago. (20 minutes.) Discussion by Professors Henning Larsen, Lee M. Hollander, and A. M. Sturtevant.

8. Word Study in Strindberg. By Professor Joseph Alexis, University of Nebraska. (15 minutes.) Discussion by Professors Jules Mauritzson, Geo. T. Flom, Lee M. Hollander, and C. N. Gould. The article will appear in a future number of SCANDINAVIAN STUDIES AND NOTES.

9. On Dramatic Theory in the North from Holberg to Heiberg. By Professor Geo. T. Flom, University of Illinois. (20 minutes.) Discussion by Professors Harry V. E. Palmblad, A. M. Sturtevant, Lee M. Hollander, and Jules Mauritzson. The article appears in this issue of SCANDINAVIAN STUDIES AND NOTES.

There were twenty present at this session.

Adjournment.

JOSEPH ALEXIS, *Secretary.*

EDDIC NOTES

I

*Hamthismol** st. 4.

On earth I am lonely
like to asp in holt,
amidst foes unfriended
like fir stripped of boughs,
of gladness bereft
as the greenwood of leaves
when the waster-of-twigs
on a warm day cometh.

Thus sorroweth Guthrun, after having lost her husband Sigurth, her brothers Gunnar and Hogni, and having slain her second husband Atli and her two sons by that union,—in anticipation of the death of her sons by Ionakr, Hamthir and Sorli, whom she sends forth on the foredoomed errand to avenge her daughter Svanhild.

As is well known, the similes in the Edda are few and far between. It is therefore to be taken for granted that those which do occur ought to be telling and perfectly clear to the hearer. In other words, that the illustration they afford be as *geläufig* to an old Norse audience as were the Homeric similes to the Greek. Hence it behooves us to bend our efforts toward bringing home their meaning and import also to the modern mind; for a greater gap, we know, exists in mode of thought between the present and Old Norse times than between the present and Homeric times.

In Guthrun's monologue three similes of similar import convey her sense of bereavement:

1) she is lonely like the asp in the holt (namely, of evergreens, as Bugge plausibly suggested);¹

2) She is unfriended amidst foes, or without kinsmen, like a fir stripped of its boughs;

3) she is of gladness bereft as the greenwood of leaves.

* The acute accent over *ø* has been omitted thruout this article because of the printer's failure to procure this particular character in time for this publication.—*Editor*.

¹ *Zfdphil.* 7, 387.

The first of these comparisons we moderns may, at a pinch, comprehend and even appreciate—the graceful, slender aspen tree with its delicate, trembling leaves, its light-colored upright trunk surrounded by the sombre, sougling forest of evergreens. It agrees, too, with a typical Scandinavian forest scene. The fem. adj. *einstöð* (ἑπὰξ λεγ.) 'standing alone' also well fits both figure and fact. And the simile as a whole is paralleled by the equally well known stanza in the *Hqvamql* (49):

The fir-tree dies
in the field that stands;
shields it nor bark nor bast.

There is some question about the value of the word *holt* in this passage. I have in my translation rendered it by the homonymous English word. In this I follow most of the interpreters. However, as both Fritzner and Vigfússon inform us, *holt* means in 'common Old and Modern Icel. usage any rough, stony hill or ridge, as opposed to marshland or the lea; whereas the meaning of 'forest' seems almost obsolete, even in Old Icelandic.' Nevertheless, there seems to be no question that, for the oldest times, at any rate, the meaning of 'forest' is the predominating one, as indeed it is in the congeners of the related *Ide*. tongues: Old Swed. and Ags. *holt*, OHG. *holz*, Greek κλάδος 'twig,' Old Slav. *klada* 'beam, timber, trunk, etc.,' O. Ir. *cail* 'wood.' The older compounds *holt-skripi* 'snake,' *holta-þór* 'Reynard Fox,' *Holt-setar* 'the people of Holsten'; *Skóla-holt*, *Reykja-holt*—are inconclusive as to the value of the first element. *Holt-barð* 'rim of a hill' points to the meaning 'ridge.'—On the other hand the compounds *ciki-holt*, *eski-holt*, *espi-holt* ('oak-, ash- aspen-forest') speak a clear language. Moreover, the simplex *holt* occurs several times in the Edda in the indubitable sense of 'forest.'—As to the compound *holtsetar* (*Hymiskviða* st. 27) it is of unknown meaning though quite confidently translated by every one as 'forested ridge', to suit the context.

The semasiological change in Modern Scandinavian and—sparsely—in some English, dialects is not necessarily a consequence of common lexicological antecedent. It may be a simultaneous and spontaneous one. In much the greater part of Scandinavia farmland is the result of human labor, either by clearing of the forest or the removal of rocks, or else by the drainage of swamps. Those portions which did not repay this labor, more particularly the stony hills, retained their original forest covering. In the more fertile and level portions of Scania and Denmark, on the other hand, the *holt* would remain longest on isolated morainic hills emerging from swamps. In either case the sense of 'forest' would soon gain the connotation of 'rough, wild tract'; just as in German *Wald* (as e.g., in *Schwarz-, Thüringer-, Böhmer-wald*) acquired and has retained a like meaning to the present day.

Among the editors, solely Dettner-Heinzel² decide for the meaning 'wooded

² *Kommentarband*, p. 575.

ridge'; but for the singular reason that the preposition *i* instead of *d* is used—unless, indeed, they think of a wooded, as opposed to a bare, ridge. Even so this carries no weight since in Scandinavian *i* *lien*, *i* *fjellet*, *i* *aasen*, *i* *skraaningen*, *oppe i* *heien* etc. is used as often, if not oftener than, *paa* *lien*, *paa* *fjellet*, *paa* *aasen*, *paa* *skraaningen*, etc.

The second comparison creates more difficulty, though I have seen no explanation offered, nor even the problem suggested. In how far is a fir-tree stripped of its boughs like one bereft of his kinsmen? Certainly, this figure demands some elucidation for the modern reader. What I offer is a mere suggestion.

The only agency which will strip a fir of its boughs is man, in search for timber or mast-tree, for which the straightness of its trunk and its comparative freeness from knots make the fir admirably fitted. Stripped of its boughs, naked and bare, exposed to wind and weather, as mast-tree of the old one-masted ship, a fir-tree might to Old Norse listeners stand as a symbol of the lone state of a person bereft of the protection and backing of kinsmen. We must remember how much more than modern man he felt dependent on his kinsmen for recognition, honor, and happiness.³ Deeper insight into this state of mind may be gained by reading Grönbech's *Lykkemand og Niding*—a book which cannot be too highly recommended for those interested in the psychology of Old Germanic Times.⁴

The third comparison is clear enough in its implication—the lonely person is bereft of joy, as is the greenwood (or tree) when bereft of leaves—the leaves constituting the very life and glory of it, its 'crown.'—But here the further definition: "when the waster-of-twigs on a warm day cometh" has caused much discussion. What is the meaning of "the waster-of-twigs"? What does this kenning signify?

Vigfússon⁵ emends, rather violently: *pá es kvistu skepja*

³ Cf. the expression in the *Sonartorek*: '*hoggea skar i ætt*.'—I quote a passage from the work cited below (p. 58): "(For Germanerne) er hele sammenholdet og alle mændenes kraft brudt, så snart blot een af fællerne rykkes op. Og så ligner de frænderne ved et gård, hvor stav står ved siden af stav og danner hegn om en hellig mark. Nar een af dem fælles, da er der skår i ætten, og da ligger dens mark åben for tiltrampning."

⁴ Cf. *Journ. of Engl. and Germ. Phil.*, 1910, p. 269 and 1915, p. 124.

⁵ *C. P. B.*, I, 477.

konur um dag varman—‘as a willow that women lop on a warm day.’ Now it is true that leaves are collected in Scandinavia, in spring and fall when fodder is scarce; but never in the ‘warm season,’ for obvious reasons. The emendation must therefore be rejected.

Similarly Bugge,⁶ emending *vibr* to read *vþir*, that is, ‘willows,’ queries: “Ist das unbestimmte *kviskskþa* von einem Weibe zu verstehen, das den Baum entlaubt? Die Worte würden sich dann, wie *Guthrúnarkviða* I, 18 auf die Sitte beziehen, dass man die Weidenbäume im Sommer entlaubt, um die Blätter als Futter zu benutzen.”—There are several objections to this: in the first place: is it likely that a kenning would be used to designate such a woman? To my knowledge there is no other instance of this. In the second place, the translation of the passage in the *Guthrúnarkviða* is by no means certain. Again, why should such a woman be called ‘damager of twigs’ when merely the leaves are stripped? Willow twigs are notoriously tough. Much rather, one looks for a phenomenon of nature in this kenning.

Gering in his translation of 1892 follows Vigfússon lex. in rendering the kenning by ‘sun’; but again abandons this in his *Glossar zur Edda* (1915) in favor of ‘Gewittersturm.’—As to the former, rare indeed are the times when the sun will make the leaves drop or droop, in Scandinavia. So we may dismiss this interpretation once for all. Again, thunderstorms of such violence as to strip trees of their branches are of great rarity in the North; and more especially so in the warm season.

Detter-Heinzel⁷ compare the kennings for wind: *almsorg* (‘sorrow of elms’) and *skapi segls* (‘damager of sails’); but, again, it is hard to see how a strong wind, at least in the North, is compatible with warm weather. For that matter, a wind violent enough to strip off twigs and branches, so as to make a wood or tree sufficiently conspicuous to furnish the natural basis for a simile would be most unusual. As I see it, *almsorg* means more naturally ‘destroyer of trees’; for wind is more likely to fell the whole tree than to strip it of branches.

⁶ *Norræn Fornkvæði*, p. 316, and loc. cit. supra.

⁷ Loc. cit., p. 575.

Another agency which may damage branches is fire; and this seems to me the most natural rendering of the kenning—so natural that it is strange that no one has thought of it. The fire or conflagration started in the forest on a warm day—for which we may say, the dry season—whether by man, to clear the ground, or by some natural cause, surely is not uncommon. 'Bereft of joy as the greenwood of leaves, etc.'; for what can be a drearier and sadder sight than what is called in the American Northwoods a *brule*, where the charred and half-burned trunks loom up pitifully over the ashy, scorched ground?

Besides, there is most excellent warrant for thus translating. In one of the most telling passages of the *Völuspá* describing the doom of the gods (st. 52) we learn that *Surt*, the god of fire, comes from the South *með sviga lævi*; i.e., 'with the destruction of twigs,' that is, 'fire.' Snorri who was in possession of still other sources of *Völuspá* paraphrases thus: "Surt rides first, and before him and after him is burning fire."⁸—We do not need to look for an interpretation of Surt as the demon of volcanic fire, as did Miss Phillpotts:⁹—the destruction wrought by a forest fire was entirely sufficient to impress the imagination of the Norsemen so as to make fire seem one of the great and elemental destructive agencies.

In the *Helreið Brynhildar* (st. 10) we read

*Lét of sal minn / sunnanverðan
hvan brinna / her alls víðar;*

He (i.e., Othin) made the waster of wood,
as the welkin high,
burn all about
my bower to southward.

Here, then, the kenning is used of the *vafrogi*. (The reading of *Nornagest-pattr*, *hrottgarm alls víðar*, another kenning for fire, is found again in the *Aevidranga* of the *Orvaroddsaga*.)

Hence, Snorri may have had any of these passages in mind when he answers his question "how should we paraphrase fire?" by: "call it brother of the wind and the sea, ruin and destruction of wood and of houses, Half's bane, Sun of houses."¹⁰

⁸ *Gylfaginning*, chap. 51.

⁹ *Ark. f. n. fil.*, 1905, 15.

¹⁰ *Skáldskaparmál*, 26 (28).

II

Hymiskviða st. 1:

Much game gathered
the gods, of yore;
on wassail bent
the wands they shook,
with blood besprent,
for brewing kettle,
and found that Ægir
full many had.

Thus the first stanza of the *Hymiskviða* according to the usual interpretation. Several attempts have been made to render the last line (*fundu at Ægis / þrkost hvera*) satisfactory.

The Codex Regius, in all respects the best manuscript, has *hverá*, the Arnarnagney, *hverja*. The latter reading cannot be right, grammatically. It was retained nevertheless by Vigfússon. The emendation of *A.* to read *hverjan* was first proposed by Bugge, was adopted by Hildebrand, Sijmons, Gering, and has received the approval of Detter-Heinzel.

Another proposal by Bugge,¹¹ to read *þrkost vesa* (for *hverá* of the Cod. Reg.) was adopted by Grundtvig in his second edition, and by Sievers.—Still others preserve the reading of Cod. Reg.

That is, there have been proposed three possible ways of reading the line.:

1) *þrkost hverjan* (emend. from *A.*), yielding the meaning 'every abundance.'

2) keeping the reading of *R.* (*þrkost hverá*) which will, then, acc. to the editors, have to be translated 'lack,' or 'abundance, of kettles.'

3) emending *R.* to read *þrkost vesa*; when the meaning is: 'that there was an abundance.'¹²

As to the meaning of *þrkostr*, the prefix *þr-* here is used most likely in its intensifying, rather than in its privative, sense, as in the nearly homonymous *þrkosta* (fem.) for which the meaning 'resource, means,' is safely established. Of course, we cannot be sure, cf. German *Auskunft*.

¹¹ *Ed.*, p. 105.

¹² *Ibid.*

Granting, then, that *þrkostr* means 'abundance,' 'number' (2) which keeps to the reading of Cod. Reg. (at least in its usual interpretation) must be ruled out; for 'an abundance of kettles' makes no sense, seeing that precisely the fetching of a kettle big enough for the brewing is the object of Thor's expedition to *Hymir*. And besides, if there had been an abundance of kettles in Ægir's hall, then both the oracle of the gods and Ægir would be lying, as evidently there was none.

The emendations of both 1) and 3), however, would yield about the same sense; namely: 'they found an abundance,' or 'every abundance,' at Ægir's hall, viz., we presume, an abundance of the wherewithal to brew ale. This is no doubt a very satisfactory meaning, making good sense, and fitting admirably into the economy of the lay.

Nevertheless the attempt is worth while to defend the reading of the best MS., Cod. Reg. (from which the reading of A. differs after all only through a mistaken (?) insertion of an *i*).

As shown above, the translation 'an abundance of kettles' for this half-line is not tenable. Now, the *Hymiskviða* both as a whole and with respect to its length, both relatively and absolutely, has more kennings than any other lay in the Edda—about 30, distributed over 40 stanzas. It has occurred to me, therefore, that in *þrkost hvera* we may have a kenning. If so, 'the abundance of the kettles' would necessarily mean the ale itself.

Now, unfortunately, Snorre in his *Skáldskaparmál*, that helpful treatise on the conventional vocabulary and phraseology of skaldship, for the guidance of young skalds, leaves us in the lurch precisely where we are in sore need of his learning. Among the multitudinous vocabulary offered for conceptions to be paraphrased, the one for ale is lacking; which is curious, seeing that he is acquainted with the *Alvissmál* and its *heiti*.

But allowing this interpretation to be possible, we must read the beginning of the poem somewhat differently: the oracle truthfully leads the gods to Ægir's hall (where also the banquet was held which is celebrated in the *Lokasenna*). And—here my interpretation differs from the usual one—Ægir *does* have ale on hand. Only, not enough to satisfy the gods (described as '*sumblsamir*' or, ready and eager for deep potations),

and especially that redoubtable quaffer, Thor. Wherefore Thor brusquely confronts Ægir: "Thou shalt prepare a *plentiful* drink or banquet for the gods" (*þu skalt qsum / opt sumbl gǫrva*). Vengefully, the sea-god promises to do so, provided that Thor would fetch him a kettle big enough for the purpose.

It will be noticed that I translated *opt* in Thor's speech by plentiful. As early as 1877 Richert pointed out¹³ that *opt* here, as well as *Hqvamql* 33 and *Helgakviða Hundingsbana* II, 17, could not mean 'often,' but 'richly, plentifully'; which has been adopted for these passages by Gering, Sijmons, and others. This rendering would seem to yield a very satisfactory meaning with reference to the interpretation above essayed.

III

Oddrúnargrátr st. 26.

Then the hoofs of horses
were heard full loud
when Giuki's sons
in the garth did ride;
great Hogni's heart
the Huns cut out,
but in dungeon laid
who was dear to me.

I have here substituted *angan* 'dear one' for the reading of the Codex Regius: *en i ormgarþ / annan logþu*. My reason for so doing is the flatness of the meaning. Oddrún is romantically devoted to Gunnar, in dishonor and in death. To mention Hogni, who is indifferent to her, and then to refer to her passionate lover as 'the other one,' offends even with the notoriously unromantic standard of the Edda in mind.

Angan 'pleasure, delight' is used twice personally, in the *Völuspá*, stanzas 22 and 53. Previously, Grundtvig in his second edition had proposed *engan* 'narrow' from the parallel passage, *Sigurðarkviða en skamma* st. 58:

'Will Atli then
deal ill with thee:
in (narrow) dungeon wilt
with worms be laid.'

¹³ *Försök osv.*, Upsala, 1877, p. 21f.

(*munt i qngan / ormgarþ lagipr*). This, however, necessitates the addition of a new subject—*hinn*; which is objectionable also, for the reason above mentioned.

Paleographically, the *n* with the long right hand stave (which often functions as a geminate) is not very different from a *g* with a faint curve to the left below the line.

LEE M. HOLLANDER

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FIVE OBJECTIONS AGAINST THE KENSINGTON RUNE STONE

In the discussion concerning the Kensington Rune Stone, the best evidence of its truth or falsity will be found within the inscription itself. In an inscription of such length and date linguistic anachronisms and errors are sure to appear if the inscription is not genuine. If it contains no such faults it may be safely accepted as true. The Achilles-heel of vulnerability will not be missing if the inscription be the work of a literary forger.

In view of this, it is deplorable that the linguistic details have not yet been subjected to a searching public analysis. While many men of reputed ability have commented on the inscription their comments in most cases have been in the form of brief interviews, permitting only bald statements of opinion concerning the merits of certain words, unsupported by intelligent exposition.

As good illustrations of these bald ex cathedra pronouncements may be cited the five most common objections against the inscription—the supposed English words, *from*, *mans*, *of* (*west*), *þeþ* and *illy*. We are told that these are English words, but we have not yet been given any reasons for this conclusion. I have therefore thought that it might not be amiss to give these alleged English words a more detailed consideration.

In order that the reader may see the connections in which these words are used, a transliteration of the inscription together with its translation is given below.

8 göter ok 22 norrmen þo oþagelse-
farþ fro vinlanþ of vest vi hæþe lægir
veþ 2 skjar en þags rise norr fro þeno
sten vi var ok fiske en þagh æptir vi
kom hem fan 10 man röþe afbløþ og
þeþ A V M frælse af illy har 10 mans
ve havet at se æptir vore skip 14 þagh-
rise from þeno 6h ahr 1362

Eight Goths and twenty-two Norse-
men on [an] exploration-journey from
Vinland through the western regions.
We had camp by two skerries one
day's journey north from this stone.
We were [out] and fished one day.
When we came home, we found ten
men, red with blood and dead. Ave
Maria! Save us from evil!
[We] have ten of our party by the sea
to look after [or for] our vessels 14 day
journey from this island. Year 1362.

From. This preposition occurs three times in the inscription. Twice it has the normal spelling *fro*, but the third time we have the criticized form *from*. Seeing that the rune master has twice shown that he is familiar with the normal form, it seems strange that in the third instance he should have forgotten his native form and substituted a foreign word. Especially does this apply to prepositions and conjunctions which, because of their lack of definite meaning, are the last words of a language acquired by a foreigner. A German-American, for instance, may be able to speak tolerably good English, but his speech will still be specked with *aber*, *bei*, *mit*, and other German conjunctions and prepositions of his native land.

This *from* in the inscription is not a loan from the English, but is an archaic form of the preposition *fro*, and occurs sporadically from the earliest days of Swedish literature down to the XVI century. Falk and Torp state that the form *fram* in the meaning of *fra* occurs sporadically in old East Scandinavian (that is, the region east of the Christiania fjord).¹ Following are some illustrations of its use.

In Linköping's *Biskopskrönika*, written in 1523, we read:

Rijket kom ater til Swenske men, <i>fram</i> the uthlanske som thet är en. ²	The Kingdom came again to Swedish men from the foreigners as it is now.
--	--

In the second book of the *Maccabees*, translated in 1484, we read:

Han lat genstan upbyggia gymnasium hart undirtornit ey langt <i>fram</i> temp- let. ³	He immediately rebuilt the public school close by the tower and not far from the temple.
--	--

This same meaning of *fram* also occurs in a MS. of the *Revelations of St. Birgitta* of 1430:

Iak drouis af manga handa onyttelili- kom thankom huilka iak forma ey bort <i>fram</i> mik skilja. ⁴	I am grieved by many kinds of vain thoughts which I am unable to put away from me.
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¹ *Etymologisk Ordbog*, article *fra*.

² *Svenska Medeltidsdiktter*, Klemming's Ed., Stockholm, 1882, p. 502, l. 514; Cf. p. 509.

³ *Svenska Med. Bibelarbeten*, Klemming's Ed., Stockholm, 1853, p. 290, l. 27; Cf. p. 424.

⁴ Klemming's Ed., Stockholm, 1857, p. 363, l. 13; Cf. p. 407.

Thy tha the gaa in j Skola tha gar iak For when they go into the school then
fram them.⁵ I will go from them.

Fram in this sense also occurs in Lydikin's *Anteckningar till Vestgötalagen*, MS. of Ca. 1300⁶ as well as in the Gothic of *Ulfilas*.⁷ Other illustrations of its use are also cited and quite fully discussed by Axel Kock, who shows that this *fram* is a survival of the Gothic *fram* which is the ancestral form of the English *from* and the Swedish *från* as well.⁸

It may be objected that in the above illustrations the word is spelled *fram*, whereas on the stone we have *from*.

The difference is a purely dialectic one and speaks for the authenticity of the inscription. Professor Axel Kock has very fully shown by his exhaustive research that long *a* when joined with a labial consonant during the XIV century had a strong tendency toward *ð* and *o*.⁹ In another place he writes: "Under 1300-talet antog i fornsvenskan det långa *a*-ljudet ett allt mera *ð*-liknande ljud, tills inemot år 1400 öfvergången fullbordats."¹⁰ According to Kock, we see the tendency consummated in most writers by 1400, while in others *a* and *ð* are used interchangeably (as, for instance, *fran* and *från* on the same page).¹¹ The same is affirmed and illustrated by Noreen.¹² As no runic character for *ð* (*aa*) existed in the XIV century, the *o* (=) being used for both *aa* and *o*, it is probable that the runemaster's ƿR4Y was phonetically equivalent to *fraam*. This use of *o* for *aa* was also common in MSS. written in the Latin

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 101, l. 5, Cf. p. 404.

⁶ *Vestgötalagen*, Schlyter's Ed., Stockholm, 1827, p. 397, article *fram*.

⁷ M. Heyne's Ed., (7th), p. 368.

⁸ *Några Bidrag i Arkiv för Nor. Fil.*, Lund, 1890, pp. 31-34. See also Noreen's *Allschwedische Grammatik*, §248, Anm. 2. I am indebted to the eminent lexicographer, K. F. Söderwall, for several of the above references.

⁹ *Svensk Ljudhistoria*, I, pp. 352-354.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 299.

¹¹ Brandt's *Gammeldansk Lesebog*, p. 308, l. 9 *fraan*, l. 19 *fran*. We have an illustration of the vacillation in expressing this sound in the spelling of Oslo (the old name of Christiania), which is sometimes spelled *Aslo*, sometimes *Oslo*. In letters of 1309, 1312, and 1321 it is spelled *Aslo*, see *Dipl. Nor.*, I, 112; III, 97, and V, 61; while in letters of 1360, 1376, and other letters it is spelled *Oslo*, see *Dipl. Nor.*, IV, 317; III, 307, etc.

¹² *Allschwedische Grammatik*, §110.

alphabet. Kock cites numerous examples from the XIV and XV centuries of words with an *aa* sound which were written with *o*, as *molte* for *mätte*, *forstondit* for *förståndit*, *gorden* for *gården*, *monga* for *många*, etc.¹³

There is another illustration of this word, this time from Norway. Here we find not only the troublesome *m*, but also the *o*. In Aurland parish, Sogn, Norway, there was once upon a time an ancient church, built some time in the XIV century.¹⁴ It was lighted by a series of small ornamented windows, the gifts of various church members. In the center of each of these windows were inscribed the respective donors' names, as for instance,

From
Nils Eirikson
Flumb
Ole Knutson
I bedum¹⁵

The only pertinent criticism to make of the form *from* in the Kensington inscription lies in the questions: Inasmuch as the writer knew the normal form *fro*, why did he also use *from*? Is this not illogical? The answer to this must be: Yes, it is illogical. But it is a sample of that erratic logic which abounds in the writings of the Middle Ages. For instance, in the Malstad inscription of the XII century we twice have *stin* and once *stain*.¹⁶ In this case *stain* is an archaism for *stin* (stone) just as is *from* for *fram*. In a letter of 1341 we find *fra* and *fron* used only two lines apart.¹⁷ In a Guide to Pilgrims written about 1425, we find *fra*, *fraan*, and *fran* used interchangeably.¹⁸

Mans. This word has probably been subject to more criticism than any other. Gjessing, Breda, Hægstad, Dahlerup, Dieserud and others have assumed it to be an English word,

¹³ *Svensk Ljudhistoria*, I, pp. 400, 401.

¹⁴ L. Dietrichson, *De Norske Stavekirker*, Christiania, 1892, p. 474.

¹⁵ See P. L. Flom's reminiscences in *Skandinaven*, March, 1899, and A. B. Melhouse in *Skandinaven*, January, 1911.

¹⁶ *Run-urkunder* af J. G. Liljegren, Stockholm, 1833, No. 1065.

¹⁷ Hildebrand's *Svensk Dipl.*, V, part I, p. 10.

¹⁸ *Gammeldansk Lesebog*, p. 307, ll. 7 and 25; p. 308, ll. 9 and 19; and p. 310, ll. 13 and 23.

the rune master having supposedly added the usual *s* to make the plural. Evidently it has not occurred to these critics that such a plural form as *mans* does not exist in English. Flom assumes that the *s* is merely an error in writing. It has been a puzzle to all.

If the spelling *mans* represents the rune master's conception of the proper plural form of *man*, why did he not use this in his earlier use of the same word? This substantive occurs twice, both times in the accusative case and both times preceded by the numeral 10. The first time it is spelled properly enough *man* (*vi fan 10 man*). Why, then, is the *s* added in his second use of the word?

This change in spelling is far from meaningless, and lies far deeper than an ignorant display of impossible English.

The substantive *man* had two meanings in the Old Norse (and Old Swedish). The first meaning refers to man as an individual. This is the meaning of the first *man* in the inscription. When the word *man* was preceded by a numeral it sometimes was used in the genitive case, as for instance,

Konunga feck Hareki XXX manna,¹⁹ The King provided Harik with 30
men,

but more often in the accusative case ("XII mann"²⁰). In the inscription it is given in the accusative.

The second meaning of *man* may be approximately translated as *people*, *household*, *party*. A more precise rendering is given by the modern Norse word *folk* or *mandskab*.²¹ In this meaning the word was used only in the singular number, and when dependent upon a numeral or any other word expressing quantity, almost always has the genitive form. This is the sense in which *mans* (genitive) is used in the inscription, and the clause may be loosely translated as "we have ten of our

¹⁹ Snorre Sturlason's *Heimskringla*, Stockholm, 1816, I, 288.

²⁰ *Flateyrbók*, I, (Christiania, 1860) 267, l. 19.

²¹ See Fritzner's *Ordbog*, Christiania, 1886, article *man*. Fritzner gives the following definitions: "Man— (1) ens Husfolk uden Forskjel saa at under denne Benævnelse indbefattedes baade Börn og Træle som ogsaa andre Tjenere. (2) Træle saavel mandlig som kvindelig ogsaa i kollektiv Betydning."

party to look after our vessels." The following are illustrations of this collective use of *mans*:

Til Olafs Konungs kom her *mans*, hal-
tir oc blinder, edr a annen vegsiuker.²²
Epter thesso aurbodi liop upp mugi
manns, oc sotti til Medalhusa.²³
Olaf Konungr war tha j nidarosi ok
hafdi med ser fjolda *manns*.²⁴

To King Olaf came an army of people,
lame and blind, or otherwise sick.
After these tidings ran up a crowd of
people, and hurried to Medalhuse.
King Olaf was then in Nidaros and
had with him a multitude of people.

This collective genitive is still in use in Modern Icelandic. The following illustrations are taken from an article describing the emigration from Iceland to America, printed in an Icelandic almanac:

Thath voru nalgit 250 *manns* som kom
med gufuskibet St. Patrick.²⁵
Aredh 1873, voru samankomnir a
Akureyri hatt a annadh hundradh
manns.²⁶

Almost 250 persons came with St.
Patrick.
In 1873, were gathered together at
Akureyri almost two hundred people.

When coupled with such a collective noun or numeral, the word *man* almost always, as has been said, took the genitive form *mans*. Inasmuch as it was almost always thus coupled, it appears that the genitive form by reason of its frequent use was also sometimes felt as an irregular form of the nominative and the accusative. There are a number of cases where *mans* is thus used in the nominative or the accusative. A Swedish letter of 1349, for instance, reads:

Han ok hans æruinge skal that goz
ænnær like aghæ mæth swa skiæl at
theer guier mik ater swa mangæ
pæningæ som twer gather *mans* af
hans wæghnæ og twer af minæ sighiæ,
etc.²⁷

He and his heirs shall have the pro-
perty with the understanding that
they give me back so much money as
two good men on his part and two
on mine shall determine, etc.

²² *Heimskringla*, II, 433, line 7.

²³ *Ibid.*, I, 257, line 21. See also II, p. 301, line 10; p. 5, line 22; p. 6, line 18; p. 334, line 11, and p. 390, line 24.

²⁴ *Flateyrbók*, I, 310, line 21. See also p. 454, line 3, and p. 61, line 25.

²⁵ *Almanak*, 1899, edited and published by Olafur Thorgeirsson, Winnipeg, Page 25. See also p. 27.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 1900, p. 40.

²⁷ *Svensk Dipl.*, 1st Samling, No. 4503.

The Law of Frostathing has this passage:

Ef þræll *manns* rekr til lausnar at If thrall folk [trællefolk, slaves]
leysa sik, etc.²⁸ endeavor to free themselves, etc.

(Noreen incidentally mentions other words, as *spæns* and *marks*, whose singular genitive forms have been adopted for plural nominative and accusative use.²⁹ The list might be considerably increased.)

The above illustrations are sufficient to show that *mans* is not an English plural form or some error by the rune master, but is an ancient Norse and Swedish collective frequently used by many writers in the function of both the nominative and the accusative case. It is immaterial to discuss what grammatical case the rune master had in mind when he wrote the form *mans*. The important thing is that he had a different conception in mind when he wrote: "We found ten men red with blood and dead," than when he said: "We have ten men by the sea." In the first instance he thinks of the ten dead men as ten individual companions now gone forever, and therefore uses the plural form *men*. In the second case he thinks of the ten men by the sea as a subdivision of the party as a whole, and therefore uses the collective singular form *mans*. This is a nice point in the linguistic usage of the time, not discussed in any text-book, and speaks strongly for the authenticity of the inscription.

Of. The phrase *fro Vinland of west* has been translated by some: *from Vinland of the West*. Inasmuch as we have no Vinland of the East, this translation is absurd. Moreover, to assume that *of vest* is an anglicism is to betray ignorance of one of the most interesting words in the Old Scandinavian speech.

The sense of this word *of* is somewhat obscure, because of its wide range of rather elusive meanings, some of which lexicographers have been unable to classify. Passing by several usages which are here inapplicable, it may be said that the particle *of* is most frequently used as a preposition. As such Fritzner

²⁸ Fritzner's *Ordbog*, III, p. 73, under article *rekr*.

²⁹ *Allschwedische Grammatik*, §431, Anm. 5.

finds that it is used in seven different ways. His first and principal definition as a preposition is the following: "*of* (1) *over*, where there is reference to movement over something which is meanwhile traversed" ("*of*, (1) *over*, hvor der er tale om en bevægelse henover noget, som derunder passerer").³⁰ He gives (*ibid.*) the following illustrative passages:

Er han for sudr *of* fjall.

As he journeyed south over the mountains.

Far M. annan dag *of* akr einns audigs manns.

Another day M. passed through the field of a wealthy man.

þa er han for *of* biskopssyslu sina.

Then as he travelled through his diocese.

This definition no doubt expresses the meaning of the word in the inscription. As *vest* means "the western regions" (*den vestlige himmelekn*),³¹ the most correct rendering is therefore, "on a journey of exploration through the western regions" ("paa en opdagelsesreise udover vesten").

In *Ynglingatal* is an old stanza wherein *of* is used in an exactly similar manner. *Of austr* here occurs in the meaning *over or through the eastern regions*:

Sa er *of* austr
adnan hafdhi
bruna borg
of borin lengi.³²

He who through the eastern regions
had recently and long carried his
head [*bruna borg* = the cliff of his
eye-brows; i.e., his head].

Professor Jónsson (*ibid.*) translates it: "Den som omkring eller i de østlige egne længe havde baaret sit hoved."

Storm more freely renders it: "Den som øster ofte og længe hovedet høit havde baaret."³³

Of also occurs coupled with nouns of like import in several later MSS. In the Arne Magnean collection of MSS. under number 764 are found several geographic statements supposed to date from the latter half of the thirteenth century. In one of these we read: "Fra Bjarmaland ganga lond til obygdá *of*

³⁰ Fritzner's *Ordbog*, II, p. 867.

³¹ *Ibid.*, article *vestr*, p. 866. See also under *af*.

³² Finnur Jónsson's *Kongesagaerne*, p. 32.

³³ G. Storm's, *Kongesagaer*, p. 28.

nordhrætt, allt till thess er Grænland tekr vidh.”³⁴ “From Bjarmaland goes [i.e., extends] land to the unsettled regions, over [or through] the northern regions until Greenland begins.” Another geographic description of the fourteenth century also has *of nordrætt*.³⁵

Professor Fossum gives several other illustrations of *of* used in the meaning of *over* or *through*, such as *of engi mans*—through a man’s field; *of allan Noreg*—over all Norway, etc.³⁶

The above illustrations are sufficient to show that there is nothing objectionable in this word.

þeþ. The Old Norse form of this word was *daudr* which in Swedish became *död*, as is well known to all philologists. The peculiar spelling of this word has therefore been much criticized and superficial critics have assumed that the runic scribe had meant to write the English word *dead*.³⁷

It is quite true that immigrants to America quickly adopt certain words into their native speech, particularly nouns and verbs, which are phonetically easier than their native equivalents. Among such loans, however, is not *dead*. Although I have specialized in Norwegian-American history for twenty years in preparation for my history of Norwegian Immigration and have visited almost all Norwegian settlements in America, I cannot recall that I have ever heard the word *dead* used in Norwegian speech. If by any chance an immigrant had become so anglicised as to unconsciously use *dead* when writing his native tongue he would, no doubt, also have used the English spelling instead of such a strange spelling as *þeþ*.

The correct explanation of this strange spelling lies far from any theory of “pigeon English,” and is to be found in the apparent difficulty the untrained writers of the Middle Ages sometimes had in differentiating between the sounds of the letters *e* and *ö* (whether long or short vowel) as then spoken.

³⁴ *Grønlands Historiske Mindesmærker*, Copenhagen, 1845, III, p. 216.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 220, line 5.

³⁶ “The Study of Language on Kensington Runestone leads to Satisfactory Results,” in *The Norwegian-American*, Northfield, Minn., Feb. 24, 1911.

³⁷ Gjessing in *Symra*, 1909, p. 121; Dieserud in *Skandinaven*, May 4, 1910; Breda in *Symra* (Decorah, Ia.), VI, p. 78.

Schlyter says that Lydikin, a commentator of *Vestgötalagen*, writing about 1325, frequently writes *e* for *ö* and vice versa.³⁸

This interchange of *e* and *ö* is frequently met with in the *Flateyrbók* (MS. of ca. 1389), sometimes only a few lines apart. In line 19 of column 223 we read: "Sidan sigla þeir *tuö dögr*," in line 33, same column, we find: "Sigldy (þeir) nu flogur *degr*."³⁹ On another page we find: "Bjarne uar sinn uetr huort utan landz edr med *fedr* sinum." A little further on we read: "Han ætlade at hallda sidueniu sinne ok þiggia at *födr* sinum uetr vist."⁴⁰

Axel Kock has given many illustrations showing the use of *e* for *ö* and vice versa. He shows that *messa*, Eng. *mass* (a religious service) is written both *messa* and *mössa*; *sövn* (sleep) is spelled both *svefn* and *svöfn*; *peper* (pepper) is frequently spelled *pöper*, etc.⁴¹ In the second volume of his monumental history of Swedish sound development, he goes into the subject of the substitution of *e* for *ö* more fully. He cites *grea* for *gröa* (grain crops), *bredr* for *brödr* (brothers), *hera* for *höra* (to hear), *lena* for *löna* (to hide), *breddirne* for *bröderne* (the brothers), *berdha* for *bördha*, *snepa* for *snöpa*, *grepa* for *gröpa*, *fetr* for *föter*, *bret* for *bröt* and many more.⁴² Noreen in his *Altschwedische Grammatik* also notices and comments on the frequent interchange of *e* and *ö*.⁴³

Reeves has pointed out that the "third secretary" of the *Hauksbók* (MS. of about 1320), for the most part, writes *e* for *ö*.⁴⁴ Similarly also, the writer of *Eriks Saga Rauda* (A. M. 557) who has *einfæting* five times on one page instead of *einföting*.⁴⁵

Further illustrations of the frequent interchange of *e* and *ö* are found in *öptir* for *ēptir*,⁴⁶ *Jenköping* for *Jönköping*,⁴⁷

³⁸ *Vestgötalagen*, Collin and Schlyter's Ed., pp. VIII and IX.

³⁹ See Reeves, *The Finding of Wineland the Good*. Original text in photostatic copy opposite pp. 143 and 144.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 15, line 50, and p. 21, line 6.

⁴¹ *Svensk Ljudhistoria*, I, p. 127.

⁴² *Ibid.*, II, pp. 38-42. See particularly, §623.

⁴³ §§136 and 146, 3.

⁴⁴ *The Finding of Wineland the Good*, p. 101.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, see photostatic copy opposite p. 137.

⁴⁶ Brate and Bugge's *Runverser*, p. 224. Also several times in later Swedish writings; see Noreen's *Altschw. Gram.* under *öptir*.

⁴⁷ *O. Petri Kröni.*, 77, 8; 217, 15; *P. Brahe Kröni*, 35, 17; 35, 21; *Svart Kröni.*, 143, 8; 143, 10.

fornömdhæ for *fornæmpder*,⁴⁸ *begöra* for *begæra*,⁴⁹ *birgiadhe* for *böryade*,⁵⁰ *gönom* for *genom*,⁵¹ *thöm* for *them*,⁵² *apostöl* for *apostel*,⁵³ *möghet* for *mæget*,⁵⁴ *Jöns* for *Jens*,⁵⁵ *senner* for *sönder*,⁵⁶ *löse* for *læse*,⁵⁷ *löfde* for *levede*,⁵⁸ *svönskr* for *svensker*.⁵⁹

The only explanation for these dual spellings is that the uncritical writers of the Middle Ages were not certain whether the words in question should be spelled with an *e* or an *ö*. Just so also with the runic scribe of Kensington. His training in spelling was deficient and so he substituted an *e* for an *ö*, as did many a more practised writer of his day. Such a spelling as *þep* for *död* would, however, be incomprehensible in a writer of the present day having the philological learning necessary to construct a runic inscription like this. This word is therefore a strong internal proof of the fourteenth century authorship of the inscription.

Illy. Some opponents of the Kensington inscription have urged that the phrase *frælse af illy* is an anglicism. They assume that the rune master inadvertently "repeated the English phrase 'Save of ill.'" It is needless to emphasize that no matter how "anglicized" a person might be, he would never be guilty of such a phrase inasmuch as it does not exist in the English language.

⁴⁸ *Svensk Dipl. n. s.* (1402).

⁴⁹ *Handlingar rörande Skandinaviens Historia*, p. XVII.

⁵⁰ *Erikskrönikon*, Klemming's Ed., lines 3041 and 3053.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, lines 1103 and 2363.

⁵² *Ibid.*, lines 904 and 925; also frequent elsewhere.

⁵³ Letter of Queen Margaret, 1393, last line.

⁵⁴ *Lucidarius*, XIV century, printed in Brandt's *Læsebog*, p. 76, line 12.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 85, line 13; p. 77, line 17; p. 68, lines 22 and 23.

⁵⁶ *Upsala Kröni*. Printed in Brandt's *Læsebog*, p. 73, line 10.

⁵⁷ *Gudelig Vidsoms-Bog* by H. Suso, MS. ca. 1400, printed in Brandt's *Læsebog*, p. 166, line 5.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 169, line 29.

⁵⁹ *Kong Christoffers Landslag*, Schlyter's Ed., p. XVII. Rydquist has also discussed the very frequent substitution in Old Swedish of *e* and *æ* for *ö* in *Svenska Språkets Lagar*, IV, pp. 98-101. Among a multitude of illustrations, he cites *kemr* for *kömr*, *ex* for *öx*, *edha* for *ödha*, *red* for *röd*, *mæperni* for *möperni*, etc. As Rydquist says: "The sounds of *e*, *æ* and *ö* are not far distant from each other."

A good illustration of the entire propriety of this word *illy* and the phrase in which it occurs is found in an old folk-lore poem harking back to the Black Plague (A.D. 1349), but which came to light several years after the stone was found. I give the first stanza below and call especial attention to the last two lines, which, with some variations, serve as a refrain throughout the ballad.

Svartedauen for laand aa straand
 aa sopa so mangei tilje;
 De vi eg no far sanno tru,
 De va kje me Herrens vilji.
 Hjelpe oss Gud aa Maria Møy,
 Aa frelse oss alle av *illi*.⁹⁰

The Black Plague sped over land and sea
 And swept so many a board [floor];
 That will I now most surely believe,
 It was not with the Lord's will.
 Help us God and Virgin Mary,
 And save us all from evil.

Here, as will be noted, we have not only the phonetic equivalent of our *illy*, but also the same prayer addressed to the Virgin Mary as on the stone, plus the redundant *oss alle*. The ballad also, like the prayer in the inscription, uses the ancient preposition *af*, which in this meaning has long since been superseded by *fra*.

There is an intimate psychological fitness to this prayer which has escaped the attention of the critics. Writing, as the runemaster did, at a time of tragic stress and nervous apprehension of coming evils, he did not compose a new prayer, but unconsciously called to mind a fragment of the most familiar of all prayers—the Lord's Prayer. So also did the writer of the

⁹⁰ This folksong was communicated by Mr. Tortvei, Moorhead, Minn., to Mr. Torkel Oftelie, a folklorist of Fergus Falls, Minn., by whom it was printed in *Telesoga*, No. I, 1909. Mr. Tortvei was an octogenarian pioneer, now dead, who, though illiterate, remembered hundreds of old ballads which he had heard in his childhood. Mr. Oftelie sent this ballad—*Førnesbronnen*—to the eminent folklorist Rikard Berge of Telemarken, Norway, who said he had not met with it in his researches.

folk-lore poem. The Swedish version of 1300 of the Lord's Prayer also contains the phrase *frælse os af illu*.⁶¹

Lest someone should object to the final vowel *y* instead of *i*, let it be said that these two vowels are very frequently interchanged. Schlyter says that *Vestgötalagen*, MS. of 1285, frequently spells the same word with both *i* and *y*.⁶² The experienced author of *Erikskrönikon* (Klemming's edition) is similarly careless. He writes (l. 1069), "Hans *pyna* worde ey long" and (l. 3949) "There *pina* war ill;" (l. 1187) "For *sina* siel ok *synne* husfruwa;" (l. 3041) "Ok *fugle birgiadhe* thera sangh" and (l. 3053) "Ok *böryade* tha en annen lek." The author of *Sialinna Tröst* (MS. of 1430) very frequently uses *y* for *i* in terminal syllables⁶³ (as, for instance, *gladh y* for *gladhi* thirty times, and *mykyn* for *mykin* forty-four times) See further, Noreen's *Altschwedische Grammatik*, §§108 and 531 where numerous other illustrations are cited.

I believe that my illustrations in this discussion have amply proved that there is not the slightest reason for supposing that these words, *from*, *mans*, *of* (*west*), *þep* and *illy*, are English. Yet on such flimsy and spurious suppositions the inscription has been condemned by many. Far from being English words, they exhibit in a most pertinent manner the archaisms and errors characteristic of the awkward literary usage of the fourteenth century. It is high time that this remarkable inscription be given the serious and respectful consideration it deserves.

HJALMAR R. HOLAND.

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⁶¹ *The Lord's Prayer in the Principal Languages of the World*, compiled by G. F. Bergholtz. The Lord's Prayer in Icelandic (*Mat.* VI, 13) translation of 1540 (see Vigfússon's *Icelandic Reader*, p. 274) has also the same phrase *frælsa þu oss af illu*.

⁶² Collin and Schlyter's Ed., p. VI.

⁶³ See N. Beckman's "Y-typen i Sialinna Tröst," *Arkiv för Nordisk Filologi*, 1892, pp. 167-175. Mr. Beckman attempts to show that the *y* in terminal syllables represents a long *i* while *i* in the same position represents a short *i*, but with doubtful success. In any event his treatment shows that *y* in *illy* is perfectly legitimate in the literary usage of the times.

REVIEWS

MÄSTER OLOF, prosaupplagan, Skådespel i fem akter av AUGUST STRINDBERG, edited with an introduction, notes, and a vocabulary by JOSEPH E. A. ALEXIS, Ph.D. Bonnier's College Series of Swedish Text-Books, edited by A. LOUIS ELMQUIST, Volume V. Stockholm, Albert Bonniers Förlag, 1921.

Last year the writer read the above edition of Strindberg's *Mäster Olof* with a small group of young college men, and a testimony concerning the results may serve as a kind of personal recognition and review of the book.

No apology is necessary for any accurate edition of this masterpiece, and certainly none is needed for this college textbook, which reproduces correctly the fresh, spontaneous prose form of 1872. No one will dispute the fact that *Mäster Olof* should have a prominent place in all advanced classes, wherever we have had the good fortune of introducing the Swedish language and literature. I say *college* classes intentionally, for it is primarily a college preparation, and only college or university students, it seems to me, could adequately grasp the enormity of the problems involved and enter into an intelligent discussion of the momentous historical, political and religious conflicts of the Reformation period.

My class was composed of native seniors, of Swedish extraction, possessing some little sentimental interest in the land of their forefathers, but with a sufficient characteristic confusion of historical and linguistic knowledge to necessitate a certain amount of hard work. They found *Mäster Olof* a fascinating study, a drama whose literary qualities and historical background welded by the omnipresent genius, virility and complex personality of the author more than compensated them for the time spent on linguistic details. As a textbook it furnished much enjoyment both for the student and teacher, served as cultural inspiration, and provoked profitable discussions on many topics of interest. A class with this play in their hands will never stagnate, and its selection for the Bonnier College series was a happy though perfectly natural thought.

The editor has done good service in preparing *Mäster Olof* for the classroom, and his part of the task has been performed with evident scholarship and conscientiousness. Some eminent names are acknowledged in the Preface as having contributed information and suggestions to the editorial pabulum, but for most of the labor and responsibility the editor alone must be given credit. The biographical and historical introduction is lucid, discriminating, and sensibly brief—long enough to give the essential facts and make the student thirsty for more. My students found no omissions in the vocabulary, so far as I remember, nor have I been able to find any myself to date, and so conclude there are no shortcomings in this line worth mentioning.

Realizing that my own reputation as a scholar and critic would be at stake unless I compiled a long list of real or imaginary philological transgressions and appended them to the review, I set aside a few hours the other day for the express purpose of picking grammatical flaws in Dr. Alexis's work, finding mistakes in translation, introducing verbal quibbles and microscopic analyses of syntax, and stimulating astonishment for not discovering this or that obscure article or book—the title of which I might have seen somewhere by mere accident—in the editor's list of bibliography. The results of my post-class examination were most discouraging, to myself, and highly gratifying to the editor, i.e., they were largely negative. With the best of intentions I could find nothing wrong to argue or quarrel about, and was not conscious of any serious omissions of editorial interpretation in the Notes. Now and then, maybe, the reviewer would differ slightly in the idiomatic rendering of some Swedish expressions translated in the notes, but that is mostly a matter of taste or opinion. Besides, a translation for classroom consumption, which must be intelligible from a more literal standpoint, is one thing; a polished, meticulously sensitive literary translation is another.

Professor Alexis evinces pedagogical experience and takes little or nothing for granted. He even inserts a note on "Stockholm," which might at first glance seem superfluous. A note might be added to explain "nu först" in "varför säger du mig detta *nu först*?" (p. 76); "elden satt i knutarne" (p. 100) would profit by a comment, I believe; and "flugornas konung" (p. 26) presupposes a more intimate knowledge of Hebrew than we may fairly assume in the average student of Swedish. A note should be inserted explaining that the "lord of flies" is the literal translation of the Hebrew "Baalzebub (Beelzebub)." (See Webster's Unabridged, where the reviewer accidentally discovered this information while hunting for something else). Though unnecessary perhaps, since the text involved is always quoted, the lines of the text should preferably be numbered to conform with the numbering in the notes.

In brief, the reviewer recommends this edition of *Måster Olof* most heartily. The editing is satisfactory. If there are any misprints, the writer has hitherto failed to detect them. The work is obviously well done.

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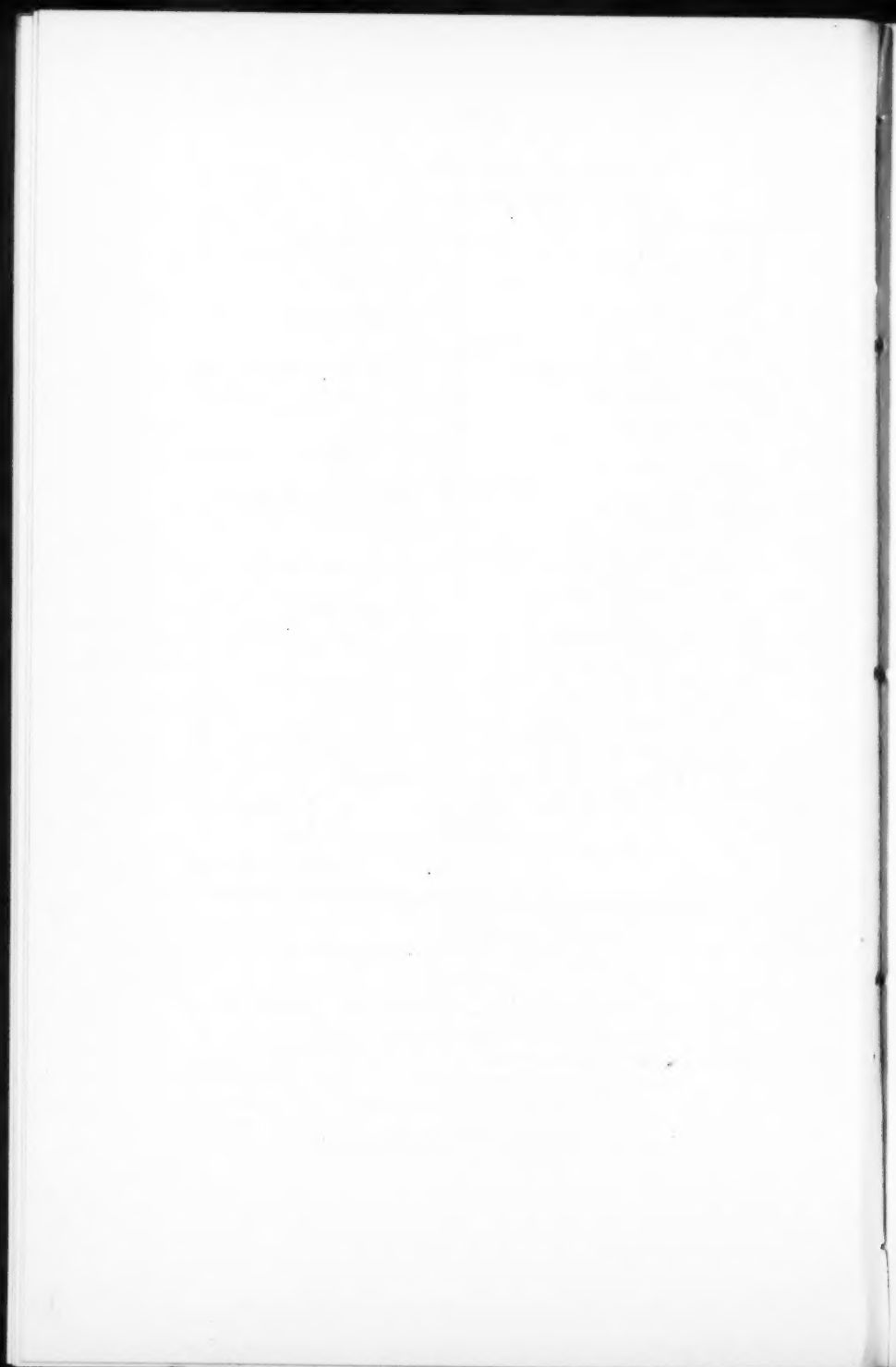
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THE TREATMENT OF THE VOLSUNGA SAGA
BY WILLIAM MORRIS

The two renderings of the Volsunga Saga by William Morris, the first a literal translation and the second a literary presentation in verse, afford an opportunity to compare an exact, objective rendering of a previously developed narrative and a versified, subjective version of the same material, from the same hand. A comparative study of the two is revelatory of the contrast between old Scandinavian and modern English ideals and of the transformation which results when more or less primitive folk material passes through the imagination of a conscious artist.

In presenting this comparison of the Volsunga Saga as translated by Eiríkr Magnússon and William Morris under the title, *The Story of the Volsungs and Niblungs*, and the poem, *Sigurd the Volsung*, by Morris, an account of the poet's attitude toward his subject matter is given first. The following topics are then discussed: treatment of the action, including omissions, additions, changes, and elaborations; descriptive passages, including landscapes, dwellings, and human figures; presentation of characters, with special attention to Sigurd; attitude toward life; style, including diction, metre, figures, and tone.

WILLIAM MORRIS AND ICELAND

While it is evident that as early as 1860 William Morris was interested in Northern literature, it was not until the publication of *The Earthly Paradise* in 1867 that Northern influence appeared in his poetry. In that collection of tales, *The Lovers of Gudrun* was taken directly from an Old Icelandic saga. In the autumn of 1868 he took up the study of Icelandic with Mr. Magnússon and in a few months had gone through the bulk of Icelandic literature. In the next year Magnússon and Morris published a translation of the *Grettis Saga* and a year later, the *Volsunga Saga*, with which this paper deals.

Iceland was now a passion with Morris and in 1871 he realized his dreams of a journey to that island, being accompanied by Magnusson and two other friends. His diary reveals that his mood was little short of idolatry, for from now onward the gloomy beauty and terrible strength of the Icelandic landscape were sacred to him. "I have seen nothing out of a dream: * * * nothing I have ever seen has impressed me so much."

He rages against tourists who picnic at hot springs but "who never have heard the names of Sigurd and Brynhild, of Njal or Gunnar, or Grettir, or Gisli, or Gudrun." Midway on the tour he writes in exaltation: "I have seen many marvels, * * * slept in the home-field of Njal's house, and Gunnar's, and at Herdholt. I have seen Bjarg, and Bathstead, and the place where Bolli was killed, and am now a half-hour's ride from where Gudrun died." Of Grettir's lair he wrote: "Such a savage and dreadful place that it gave quite a new turn in my mind to the whole story, and transfigured Grettir into an awful and monstrous being, like one of the early giants of the world." Nor did his interest decrease as the journey drew toward its end: "My heart beats, so please you, as we near the brow of the pass, and all the infinite wonder, which came upon me when I came up on the deck of the *Diana* to see Iceland for the first time, comes surging on me now." The experience so interested the poet that he returned in 1873.

Morris, with his usual whole-hearted vehemence, had become so devoted to the old sagas that Iceland was now to him what Greece is to many: Italy, visited in 1872, had no appeal. Stopford Brooke declared, "If Iceland was once started in conversation, Morris clung to it like ivy to the oak. Nothing else, for hours together, was allowed in the conversation. It was terrible, and he looked like Snorri Sturluson himself!"

The Northern hero tales Morris keenly delighted in, though reverence was mingled in large measure with his delight. The "Translator's (sic) Preface" to the *Volsunga Saga* contains these words: "For this is the Great Story of the North, which should be to all our race what the Tale of Troy was to the Greeks—to all our race first, and afterwards, when the change

of the world has made our race nothing more than a name of what has been—a story too—then should it be to those that come after us no less than the Tale of Troy has been to us.”

It was in this spirit that Morris wrote *Sigurd the Volsung*. It is evident that had he felt upon its publication that he had not presented the saga fairly and in the old Northern heroic spirit, he would have considered himself of all men the most miserable, in that he had done despite to the greatest story in the world. A. Clutton-Brock thus describes the poet's attitude: “He was so familiar with it, it had sunk into his mind so thoroughly, that he had no more thought of treating it romantically or of heightening its interest with ‘local color’ than Fra Angelico thought of introducing local color into his sacred paintings.” Morris himself pleads thus for guidance in “To the Muse of the North”:

O Muse that swayest the sad Northern song,
Thy right hand full of smiting and of wrong,
Thy left hand holding pity; and thy breast
Heaving with hope of that so certain rest;
Thou, with the grey eyes kind and unafraid,
Thy soft lip trembling not, though they have said
The doom of the world and they that dwell therein;
* * * * *

O Mother, and Love, and Sister all in one
Come thou; for sure I am enough alone,
That thou thine arms about my heart should'st throw,
And wrap me in the grief of long ago.

It is decidedly interesting to attempt an estimate as to how closely Morris adhered to the matter and the manner of the old saga and to what degree he was able to exclude romanticism and local color.

TREATMENT OF THE ACTION

A modern reader is struck by the looseness, at times almost aimlessness, of many of the old folk narratives, for the ancient story tellers frequently lack a sense of perspective as obviously as do cave-man and cubist artists. This tendency was increased in the Volsunga Saga by the purpose of one of its shapers or recorders—the presentation of the traditional ancestry of a Scandinavian house.

Thus William Morris was at the outset faced with the problem of what should be omitted on structural grounds, in retelling the story. Because of his devotion to the old Saga, *Sigurd the Volsung* contains so complete a version of the narrative that many critics have found it faulty in unity. Oneness of impression demanded that Morris omit Sigi and Rerir, but the deeds of Sigmund are presented in full, perhaps in order to stress the fact that to Sigurd, the last of the Vikings, was given a noble and glorious heritage, to which he must be faithful. Dramatic effect also forced the poet to omit the final incidents of the Saga—the escape of Gudrun, her marriage to Jormunrek, the terrible fate of Swanhild, and her tragic avenging.

Structural considerations also led to the omission of two digressions: one unimportant, the deeds of Helgi; the other more vital, Sigurd's avenging of Sigmund. Unnecessary and weakening details are omitted in such instances as that of the weasel which suggested to Sigmund a remedy for Sinfjotli when the two were werewolves, that of Regin's plan for pits to catch Fafnir's venom, that of the pursuit of Hjalli the coward as a separate incident before Hogni's heart is demanded, and that of Hogni's sons' assistance in Gudrun's vengeance. Two prophetic passages disappear, perhaps because they prevent suspense: Brynhild's forecast of Gudrun's marriage to Atli and the former's dying prophesy.

Such omissions do not particularly change the tone or the effect of the poem, but such cannot be said of a final group, omissions made in concession to modern conventions of life. Details dropped on these grounds are as follows: Sigmund's biting out of the wolf's tongue as he sits in the stocks, the possibility that this wolf is Siggeir's mother, the skin-flaying test of her sons made by Signy, Sigmund's killing of those sons at her command, the birth of a daughter to Brynhild and Sigurd, the urging of Sigurd's "taking of Brynhild's maidenhood" as a motive for the murder of the former, Gudrun's killing of Atli and her sons, and her giving him the terrible drink. A similar influence doubtless led Morris to allow Signy to remain in the forest with Sigmund, and Sigurd on the mountain with Brynhild, as brief a time as possible, only one night instead

of three. A final case, the omission of a quaint archaic touch in the one uncovered muzzle hair of Otter, is hard to explain and although it is but a trifle, one somehow resents the disappearance of that little detail.

Complete changes in the action, involving omission and the substitution of wholly new material, are not frequent. Morris altered the occasion of the Sinfjotli-Gudrod fight and gave Sigurd different and more vital grounds for killing Regin, in each case with obvious intent of improving the motivation, which he accomplished without appreciably altering the tone of the story. Much more striking and significant is his handling of the relations between Atli, Gudrun, and her brothers. Gudrun forgets Sigurd only for a short time after drinking the magic potion, grieves for him constantly in Atli's halls, and takes an altogether different part in the killing of her kindred. Gudrun is now seen as inflaming Atli's greed with accounts of the Niblung hoard, bringing about the journey of her brothers to Hunland, and gloating in melodramatic fashion over their destruction, instead of warning them not to come and fighting by their side when they arrive. Morris has of course adopted the more dramatic Nibelungen Lied version of this portion of the story, to the improvement of *Sigurd the Volsung* as literature but to its detriment as a replica of the Icelandic saga. Artistically the change is justifiable but if Morris would reproduce his original, the alteration is unwise.

Distinctly more numerous than such omissions and changes are the insertions of new incidents, building up events already present in the narrative. For instance, Morris makes Siggeir, at his own request, the first to attempt to draw the magic sword from Branstock, thus heightening the effect of his failure. Signy warns Volsung of Siggeir's treacherous nature even before she leaves her father's home. The birds which suggest to Sigurd the killing of Regin are presented as eagles and they reappear later as an interesting motif. The suspense in the Niblung court as tension develops between Sigurd, Gudrun, Gunnar, and Brynhild is original with Morris, as are the public announcement of the death of Sigmund and of his first love, and the public mourning therefor. It will be noted that those details are based upon the original, but are psychologized.

Most frequent of all is the expansion, the elaboration, of incidents by the addition of numerous minute details, distinguishable from the alterations already discussed by the fact that no one of the many additions now referred to is of significance comparable to that of those already mentioned. That is, Morris takes a word, a passage, a hint, passes it through his imagination, and it comes forth increased a hundred or possibly a thousand fold—the same event, indeed, but elaborated at times almost beyond recognition. Instances are the version of Siggeir's attempt to buy the magic sword from Sigmund, Sinfjotli and Sigmund's revenge, the announcement of Sigurd's birth, Grepir's prophecy. Regin's account of the Otter-Loki incident grows from sixteen words to six pages, while the six page section entitled by Morris "Sigurd rideth to the Glittering Plain" is developed from the words, "Now Sigurd and Regin ride up the heath." Arrivals as Sigurd's at the Niblungs' court, departures as Gudrun's to Atli, journeys as Gudrun's to Brynhild, feasts as that in Siggeir's hall before his death, and such events as the marriage of Gudrun and Sigurd are expanded apparently *ad lib*. The Saga speaks thus of the journey to secure the widowed Gudrun for Atli: "There were five hundred men, and noble men rode with them. So they went into the hall of King Alf." From this Morris produces the following:

Then to horse get the Kings of the Niblungs, and ride out by the
ancient gate;
And amidst its dusky hollows stir up the sounds of swords:
Forth then from the hallowed houses ride on these war-fain lords,
Till they come to the dales deserted, and the woodlands waste and
drear;
There the wood-wolves shrink before them, fast flee the forest-deer
And the stony wood-ways clatter as the Niblung host goes by.
Adown by the feet of the mountains that eve in sleep they lie,
And arise on the morrow morning, and climb the mountain-pass,
And sunless hollow places, and slopes that hate the grass.
So they cross the hither ridges and cross a stony bent
Adown to the dale of Thora, and the country of content;
By the homes of a simple people, by cot and close they go,
Till they come to Thora's dwelling; but fair it stands and low
Amidst of orchard-closes, and round about men win
Fair work in field and garden, and sweet are the sounds therein.

DESCRIPTIVE PASSAGES

As in much folk literature, setting appears in the *Volsunga Saga* in less detail than in the productions of later literary artists, who are more conscious of the beauty and significance of inanimate life and are better aware of the value of setting. Here, more than in any of the matters previously discussed, Morris gets away from his original and romanticises his material. Essentially a decorative artist, whether in architecture, wall paper, or poetry, his inventiveness in the matter of elaboration is inexhaustible and he heaps splendors on splendors. Some of the most beautiful and poetic passages in the entire poem are these descriptive portions, but they are all too often romantic rather than heroic and more Southern than Northern in tone. Morris gives the impression, at times, of describing not Scandinavia but his own land of dreams.

Landscapes appear continually, based on the merest suggestion in the original or more frequently created entirely by the poet. Delightful as they are, they are often peculiarly vague and indistinct, as visions seen in a dream.

So he rideth higher and higher, and the light grows great and strange,
And forth from the clouds it flickers, till at noon they gather and
change,

And settle thick on the mountain, and hide its head from sight;
But the winds in a while are wakened, and the day bettered ere the
night,

And, lifted, a measureless mass o'er the desert crag-walls high,
Cloudless the mountain riseth against the sunset sky,
The sea of the sun grows golden as it ebbs from the day's desire;
And the light that afar was a torch is grown a river of fire,
And the mountain is black above it, and below is it dark and dun;
And there is the head of Hindfell as an island in the sun.

And again:

So the day grew old about them and the joy of their desire,
And eve and the sunset came, and faint grew the sunset fire,
And the shadowless death of the day, was sweet in the golden tide;
But the stars shone forth on the world and the twilight changed and
died;

And sure if the first of man-folk had been born to that starry night,
And had heard no tale of the sunrise, he had never longed for the light;
But earth longed amidst her slumber, as neath the night she lay,
And fresh and all abundant abode the deeds of day.

Morris frequently refers to the seasons, both in narrative to indicate the passage of time and in description to add color: "Winter star-light," "on an eve of autumn," "the winter brought in spring."

So passeth the summer season, and the autumn of the year,
And the latter days of winter on toward the springtime wear.

The poet employs the passage of the seasons to indicate practically all the chief divisions of the narrative,* with the result that there are noticeably more seasonal references than in any other modern poem not dealing chiefly with out-door themes. Devout worshippers of the seasons and the powers of the earth as they are, it can hardly be urged in defence of Morris that the old Scandinavians introduced them thus persistently into their literature.

The passage of day and night is even more an obsession with the poet. As the seasons indicate the time of the chief sections of the poem, so the sun and moon mark time for the minor incidents. Sigurd cannot travel, make love, or fight without astral accompaniment. The sun may be overclouded at dawn but day after day the Volsung lands, far away to the North, are blessed with the steadiest and most glorious sunshine, due, Mr. Morris might perhaps say, to the fact that Sigurd is a sun-god. The moon is equally generous and seems to be in her full splendor every night of the year, for Morris has a moon-complex as persistent of that of the German novelists. "The moon ariseth red," "the moon was low," "the dim white moon appears," "the moon lay white," "the white moon shone," "the midnight moon looks down," "the moon rode high," "the white moon climbeth," "the moon from the world is departed," "the moon is long since dead"—these are but a fraction of the occasions on which Luna appears.

In the Volsunga Saga, descriptions of interiors are limited to a few suggestive touches, no passages being so full as those in Beowulf, for instance. Sigurd finds Brynhild in "a shield hung castle" with "a banner of the topmost thereof," while the abode of Giuki and Atli's hall are introduced without details. But Morris presents neat little sketches of each as it appears, and adds further details *passim*. The hall of the Volsungs appeals

most fully of any building mentioned in the original saga: "King Volsung let build a noble hall in such a wise that a big oak tree stood therein, and that the limbs of the tree blossomed out over the roof of the hall, while below stood the trunk within it, and the said trunk did men call Branstock." From this Morris develops many details scattered through the first book of the poem, and on it he bases his opening description of the hall, which may serve as illustration of many similar passages throughout the poem.

There was a dwelling of kings ere the world was waxen old;
 Dukes were the door-wards there, and the roofs were thatched with
 gold;
 Earls were the wrights that wrought it, and silver nailed its doors;
 Earls' wives were the weaving-women, queens' daughters strewed its
 floors,

* * * * *

And as in all other matters 'twas all earthly matters crown,
 And the least of its wall-hung shields was a battle-world's renown,
 So therein withal was a marvel and a glorious thing to see,
 For midst of all its midmost hall-floor sprang up a mighty tree,
 That reared its blessings roof-ward, and wreathed the roof-tree dear
 With the glory of the summer and the garland of the year.

* * * * *

And when men tell of Volsung, they call that war-duke's tree
 That crowned stem, the Branstock; and so it was told unto me.
 So there was the throne of Volsung beneath its blossoming bower,
 But high o'er the roof-crest red it rose 'twixt hall and tower,
 And therein was the wild hawks dwelling, abiding the dole of their
 lord;
 And they wailed high over the wine, and laughed to the waking
 sword.

The heroic characters of the ancient epics are frequently described in some detail, presaging the full and lovingly drawn portraits of the chief figures in the later romance. But few such touches appear in the Volsunga Saga, with the notable exception of the full account of the personal appearance of Sigurd, presented as Chapter XXII of the translation. Splendid as here he appears, Morris makes him even more golden and glorious in many passages, one of which is as follows:

Lo now, as they stand astonished, a wonder they behold,
 For a warrior cometh riding, and his gear is all of gold;

And grey is his steed and mighty beneath that lord of war,
 And a treasure of gold he beareth and the gems of the ocean's floor:
 Now they deem the war-steed wondrous and the treasure strange they
 deem,
 But so exceeding glorious doth the harnessed rider seem,
 That men's hearts are all exalted as he draweth nigh and nigher
 And there are they abiding in fear and great desire:
 For they look on the might of his limbs, and his waving locks they see,
 And his glad eyes clear as the heavens, and the wreath of the summer
 tree
 That girdeth the dread of the war-helm, and they wonder at his
 sword,
 And the tinkling rings of his hauberk, and the rings of the ancient
 Hoard:
 And they say: Are the Gods on the earth? did the world change
 yesternight?
 Are the sons of Odin coming and the days of Baldur bright?

Morris gives the features and expression of the other characters little attention, save that he seizes upon an epithet for Gudrun which he iterates and reiterates until he has out-epithetted the epithet-loving ancients with his use of "the white armed Gudrun." Apparel, however, is frequently mentioned and occasionally pictured in detail.

But a woman sits on the high seat with gold about her head,
 And ruddy rings on her arms, and the grace of her girdle-stead;
 And sunlit is her rippled linen, and the green leaves lie at her feet,
 And e'en as a swan on the billow where the firth and the outsea meet,
 On the dark-blue cloths she sitteth, so fair and softly made
 Are her limbs by the linen hidden, and so white is she arrayed.

PRESENTATION OF CHARACTER

The fundamental characteristics of the men and women in the Volsunga Saga are retained by William Morris in his poetic version, but here as in every other phase of the poem, the rugged Scandinavian material is overlaid with romantic embroidery. This softening and emasculating of the characters has already been suggested in discussing the poet's treatment of the action and the appearance of his figures, and only the chief actors require further comment.

Signy is in general unaltered, but through stress on motivation she becomes a better developed figure. This is accom-

plished by such touches as her loving warning to her father and the supplying of the train of thought whereby she develops her plan of going to Sigmund in the forest. Siggeir has been "touched up" with the result that his assurance, his cunning, his greed, his duplicity, and his savagery stand out more clearly. Sigmund is not particularly altered but goes through a bit of the same process of intensification. Regin appears more amiable and benevolent at first, but soon assumes his true colors as presented in the Saga. In brief, Morris is emotionalizing his figures.

Sigurd, clearly drawn and unmistakably heroic, so dominates the Saga that Morris inevitably preserves the main lines of his character, though here again sentimentality weakens the poet's work. Sigurd's youth is changed only in that Morris heightens his joy and high spirits. The lad's keen courage is finely exemplified in his quick response to Regin's skillful goadings:

Tell me, thou Master of Masters, what deed is the deed I shall do?
Nor mock thou the son of Sigmund, lest the day of his birth thou rue.

When Brynhild enters the story, Morris alters her and Sigurd decisively. Of their love on the mountain, the old version says only, "And thereto they plighted troth both of them," from which Morris develops a highly emotional scene between two characters whom one hardly recognizes as Brynhild and Sigurd of the Saga.

Then she turned and gazed on Sigurd, and her eyes met the Volsung
eyes,
And mighty and measureless now did the tide of his love arise,
For their longing had met and mingled, and he knew of her that she loved.

After mutual rejoicing and congratulation,

Then they turned and were knit together; and oft and o'er again
They craved and kissed rejoicing, and their hearts were full and fain.

Then follows a long speech by Brynhild, notable because here, as in other inserted orations, Morris introduces his own thoughts. Ideas are placed in the mouth of Brynhild that would never have occurred to her, a Valkyrie, or to Sigurd, a Northern chieftain. An illustration:

Know thou, most mighty of men, that the Norns shall order all,
And yet without men's helping shall no whit of their will befall.

And then, as if to counteract this heretical stress on the importance of man in the universe, she speaks as follows, still out of character:

Wilt thou do the deed and exalt it? then thy fame shall be outworn:
Thou shall do the deed and abide it, and sit on thy throne on high.

Thereupon

They kissed and clung together, and their hearts were full and fain.

After Brynhild gives an account of her wisdom, where for once Morris is briefer than his original, their mood still appears to be the same:

They craved and kissed rejoicing, and their hearts were full and fain.

In the Saga, the matter-of-fact, incidental mention of Aslaugh, daughter of Brynhild and Sigurd, indicates that the original characters were by no means lacking in passion and gives a far more virile, heroic impression of the two than does the poet's carefully wrought mass of more decorous details.

The emotional stress placed on this incident forces Morris to transform Sigurd in the hall of the Niblungs, when a terrible period of agony and uncertainty is invented to follow the drinking of the potion of forgetfulness. That loss of all memory of Brynhild should drive Sigurd almost into insanity is highly creditable to his character—and highly romantic as well, as is his wild ride through the night, knowing not what he did. This does not prevent Morris from picturing Gudrun and Sigurd in the familiar raptures and again appears the hard-working line:

They crave and kiss rejoicing, and their hearts are full and fain.

Finally, Sigurd is over-stressed as a peace-bringer and savior of his people. No hero of the Heroic Age consciously loved peace above all things nor did his warriors deliberately plan for a new age of rest and ease. Their conception of the ideal future existence was days filled with fighting and nights of feasting. Such a note is too modern. An illustration appears in Sigurd's announcement that he comes to bring a new day to the Niblungs.

For peace I bear unto thee, and to all the kings of earth
 Who bear the sword aright, and are crowned with a crown of worth;
 But unpeace to the lords of evil, and the battle and the death;
 And the edge of the swords to the traitor, and the flame to the
 slandrous breath;
 And I would that the loving were loved, and I would that the weary
 should sleep,
 And that man should hearken to man, and that he that soweth should
 reap.

After his victories, Sigurd's mission as bringer of peace is fulfilled.

And they tell how the ships of the merchants come free and go at
 their will,
 And how wives in peace and safety may crop the vine-clad hill;
 How the maiden sits in her bower, and the weaver sings at his loom,
 And forget the kings of grasping and the greedy days of gloom;
 For by sea and hill and township hath the son of Sigmund been,
 And looked on the folk unheeded, and the lowly people seen.

The chief alteration in the character of Gunnar is the introduction of his jealousy for Sigurd, a motivation for the murder which appears quite within the possibilities in such a situation and among such characters. Thus it is that Gunnar terms Sigurd

The foe, the king's supplanter, he that so long hath shone
 Mid the honor of our fathers and the lovely Niblung throne,
 Like a serpent midst the treasures that the day makes glorious.

Gudrun is sentimentalized throughout, as might be expected. She and Atli undergo changes in character when Morris adopts the Nibelungen Lied version of Gudrun's revenge. Her stony yet melodramatic pose as she watches the death of her brothers is more primitive than her wholly different bearing in the saga, and here at least Morris has barbarized rather than refined. The omission of the details of Gudrun's third marriage, drug-induced as it was, leaves the reader more favorably impressed as to the strength of her character than he would have been had her final adventures been presented in full.

ATTITUDE TOWARD LIFE

In way of life, in externalities, the details of *Sigurd the Volsung* correspond with those of the *Volsunga Saga*, save for

increased color, splendor, and richness, for in external detail the poet is usually historically accurate. Passing to the inner life, one finds that Morris frequently catches the Norse spirit grandly and effectively, and expresses it with a surge and a rush that carry the reader with him. Morris is perhaps at his best in the war scenes, as a few lines from one of them will suggest.

Then up the steep came the Goth-folk, and the spear-wood drew anigh,
And earth's face shook beneath them, yet cried they never a cry;
And the Volsungs stood all silent, though forsooth at whiles
O'er the faces grown earth weary would play the flickering smiles,
And swords would clink and rattle; not long had they to bide,
For soon that flood of murder flowed round that hillock side;
Then at last the edges mingled and if men forbore the shout,
Yet the din of steel and iron in the grey clouds rang about;
But how to tell of King Volsung and the valour of his folk!
Three times the wood of battle before their edges broke;
And the shield-wall, sorely dwindled and reft of the ruddy gold,
Against the drift of the wax-blast for the fourth time yet did hold.

The poet's feeling for Wyrd is equally good. In *Book I* the reader sees Fate moving the human pawns about, blindly and purposelessly. In the books that follow, man becomes more the master of his own fate, although the Norns still dominate. This intervention of Fate appears in such incidents as Odin's placing the magic sword in Branstock and his taking Sigmund to himself in the hero's last battle.

That in other respects the ancient attitude of life has been sentimentalized by Morris has already appeared in this discussion. The unheroic attitude toward love may be given final illustration by the following words,—words which one cannot conceive as coming from the old Norse Sigurd, passionate as he doubtless was.

His kind arms clung about her, and her face to his face he drew;
"The life of the kings have I conquered, but this is strange and new
And from out of the heart of the striving a lovelier thing is born,
And the love of my love is sweeter, and these hours before the morn!"

A different type of sentimentalizing appears in the scenes of mourning. Primitive peoples undoubtedly feel acute sorrow for the loss of those they love and they are more uncontrolled in their expression of grief than are more sophisticated races.

But there is a touch of modern softness in the mourning of Morris's figures, as in the sorrow for the dead Volsung, in Sigmund's grief for Signy, and in the mourning for Sigmund himself.

Woe's me for the boughs of the Branstock and the hawks that cried on
the fight!

Woe's me for the fireless hearthstones and the hangings of delight,
That the women dare not look on, lest they see them sweat with blood!
Woe's me for the carven pillars where the spears of the Volsungs stood!
And who next shall shake the locks, or the silver door-rings meet?
Who shall pace the floor beloved, worn down by the Volsung feet?
Who shall fill the gold with the wine, or cry for the triumphing?
Shall it be kindred or foes, or thief, or thrall, or king?

Falsest of all is the golden haze which Morris casts over many scenes, much after the manner of certain Romantics in covering with glamor the Middle Ages. Active and practical as Morris was, he did his work in leisure and for so true a craftsman, he possessed a remarkably keen appreciation of ease and luxury. Thus it is that his dream world, his Tower of Ivory which he built for himself in the Heroic Age of the Norsemen, was at times a Castle of Indolence in the Land of Drowsyhood. This sweet land of languor and dreams is glimpsed in several passages already quoted and in the two below.

So blossom the days of the Niblungs, and great is their hope's increase
'Twixt the merry days of battle and the tide of their guarded peace:
There is many a moon of joyance, and many an eve's delight,
And many a deed for the doing 'twixt the morning and the night.

So the Niblungs feast glad hearted through the undark night and kind,
And the burden of all sorrow seems fallen far behind
On the road their lives have wended ere that happiest night of nights,
And the careless days and quiet seem but thieves of their delights;
For their hearts go forth before them toward the better days to come
When all the world of glory shall be called the Niblungs' home:
Yea, as oft in the merry season and the morning of the May
The birds break out in singing for the world's face waxen gay;
And they flutter there in the blossoms and run through the dewy grass
As they sing the joy of the spring-tide that bringeth the summer to
pass;
And they deem that for them alone was the earth wrought long ago,
And no hate and no repentance, and no fear to come they know.

STYLE

The poet faces a complicated task when he attempts to re-create the literature of another race. To create true poetry is sufficiently difficult, but to attempt in addition to convey the spirit of another race and age makes the undertaking even less possible of fulfillment. If to this be added the reproduction of form as well as content, the task is almost impossible of fulfillment. William Morris had not the genius completely to master it, nor does it appear that one race will ever succeed in perfectly reproducing the literature of another.

The diction of *Sigurd the Volsung* is admirably de-Latinized. The poet's work in translating had been good training and the wording of the prose version and of the poem are in good accord with the subject matter and its source. A rare word with a Latin or French ring, as "unsatiate" or "beleaguerment," only serves to draw attention to the remarkable purity of the Anglo-Saxon vocabulary which he employs. The customary archaisms are of course introduced to give the proper tone, as witness the following culled from one page: "bode," "rideth," "O'ertoppeth," "aforetime," "betwixt," "beleaguerment," "tilth," "burg," "balks," "clomb," "minish."

English versification includes no metre particularly adapted to heroic verse, as is the hexameter in Greek. Blank verse is too stately; the heroic couplet is too aphoristic. Morris invented a delightful form of rhymed hexameter with a slight and varied medial pause, possessing continuity, range, and music. Yet the tone of the verses is too reminiscent of the Land of Heart's Desire; the blood and iron of the Heroic Age sound but dimly through it.

The poem, from the very nature of poetry, is more figurative than its prose source. Yet Morris does not give himself free rein in this regard and page after page reveals few or no figures of speech. One of the rare similes in the original, "like unto swan on billow," is reproduced in "as a swan on the billow unbroken." Occasionally, however, several figures appear in close succession, as the following from one page: "As the rain in midmost April," "As the hart," "As the spearleek," "as the gem," "as the leaf."

The most unheroic aspects of the style are the hyper-poetic passages, characteristic of all of the work of Morris. These aspects appear in several of the quotations already given and in the lines below:

There through the glimmering thickets the linked mail rang out.

And a light wind followed the sun and breathed o'er the fateful place
As fresh as it furrows the sea-plain or bows the acres' face.

Forsooth no more may we hold thee than the hazel copse may hold
The sun of the early dawning, that turneth it all to gold.

And her face is a rose of the morning by the night-tide framed about.

And high above the tree-tops shone the sister of the moon,
And hushed are the water-ousels with the coming of the noon.

These lines are delightful in their Tennysonianism but they have, to say the least, a peculiar sound in a version of the deeds of ancient Scandinavian heroes.

CONCLUSIONS

Taking the material presented in some 30,000 words of the 35,000 which compose the *Volsunga Saga*, Morris has expanded them into a poem of over 127,000 words. In the process much of the story has been transformed. Morris is a Neo-Romantic, a Pre-Raphaelite, a sentimentalist in a vigorous, masculine way, and the poem bears the impress of his personality. Has it lost or gained by the transformation?

Sigurd the Volsung may be judged from two points of view; as an attempt to reproduce the *Volsunga Saga* in story and spirit, or as a piece of original creative work. That the view first mentioned has the support of the author's own attitude toward the *Saga* was suggested in discussing Morris and his love of Iceland, while the second view is that commonly accepted by critics.

Judged as creative work the poem, even though it has never won popular approval, is well conceived, excellent in tone, and admirable in workmanship. Only a few of its literary merits could be suggested in this discussion, and from this standpoint justice has not been done to the poem, for such an analysis is perforce apparently ungracious in tone. As original work of the later Victorian period, it therefore may be said to rank well.

As a re-creation of the Heroic Age and of Sigurd and the heroes, if the conclusions of this paper are to be accepted, *Sigurd the Volsung* is decidedly imperfect. Subjecting the tale to the influence of the personality and the imagination of as individual and unique a man as William Morris deprived it of a part, yet to be just, only a part, of its original vitality and crude strength. But over that virility and power the poet carefully laid a charming, delicately wrought gilding of sentimentalism which, though it may not hide the general outlines of what lies beneath, gives a misleading appearance to the whole. Apparently Morris could not avoid the temptation which Mr. Clutton-Brock insists never occurred to him in versing the story: the temptation "of treating it romantically or of heightening its interest with 'local color.'" Judged by his own aims, then, William Morris can hardly be termed a just or wholly trustworthy interpreter of the spirit of the Icelandic saga of the Volsungs.

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THE IRREGULAR DECLENSION OF THE OLD
NORSE NOUN *MÆR** 'MAIDEN'

The Old Norse noun *mær* 'maiden' (Gothic *mawi*) belongs primarily to the short *jð*-stems, and as such it is regular in its inflection in all cases except the nom. sing., where the ending *-r* has been borrowed from the long *jð*-stems. Only one other short *jð*-stem in Old Norse has similarly added the *r*-ending in the nom. sing., namely *þtr* 'maid-servant,' skaldic form for *þý* (Gothic *þiwi*). Since both these forms, *mær* and *þtr*, are obviously analogical formations after the model of the long *jð*-stems in the nom. sing., the question naturally arises as to the reason for this analogy. Let us first, however, trace the phonetic development of the form *mær* nom. sing.

As the Gothic noun *mawi* nom. sing., *maujðs* gen. sing. etc. shows, the stem of the word in Primitive Germanic was **mau-jð-*. The root syllable **mau-*, which in Gothic was long, became short in Primitive Norse according to the specific North Germanic law that a syllable is short, if it ends in a long vowel or in a diphthong directly followed by another vowel.¹ The *-j-* in **mau-jð-* was a vocalic glide (i.e., *i*, **mau-ið-*) and therefore the root syllable **mau-* was in Primitive Norse treated as a short syllable, exactly as, for instance, the syllable *dey-* in the literary form *dey-ja* or *bú-* in *bú-a*. Consequently, Primitive Norse **mauu-ið-* came to be regularly inflected in Old Norse as a short *jð*-stem in all cases (except the nom. sing.): thus,

Sing.	Plur.
Nom. <i>mær</i> (later <i>mey</i> , <i>meyja</i>)	<i>meyjar</i>
Gen. <i>meyjar</i>	<i>meyja</i>
Dat. <i>mey(ju)</i>	<i>meyjum</i>
Acc. <i>mey</i>	<i>meyjar</i>

* The diphthong *æ* has been used throughout this number in place of *é*, as the printer has not yet been able to secure the proper character.

¹ Cf. Holthausen, *Aisl. Elementarbuch*, §7; Heusler, *Aisl. Elementarbuch* §41.

If the nom. sing. had undergone a regular phonetic development from P. N. **mauu-i-* (Gothic *mawi*) without the addition of the consonantal ending *-R* of the O. N. long *jð*-stems, we should in this case have had the form **mey* (cf., e. g., *ey* 'island' < **auu-i-*). But since the form *mey* does not occur until very late,² we must assume that *mey* is not the regular phonetic form but a later analogical form after the model of the regular short *jð*-stems which did not add *-r* (*-R*) in the nom. sing., such as, for instance, *ey* 'island.'

If the ending *-R* had been added to the nom. sing. after the period when **mauu-i* had been regularly reduced to **mey*, we should in this case have had in O. N. the form **meyr*, not *mær*. Therefore, we must assume that the O. N. form *mær* was developed directly from P. N. **mauu-i-R* and that therefore the *-r* in *mær* had already been added in prehistoric times.

The reduction of P. N. **mauu-i-R* to *mær* offers, so far as I can see, no serious difficulties; thus **mauu-i-R* > **mau-R* > **má-R* > **mæR* > *mær*.

The unaccented *i* after the short root syllable **mauu-* was lost before it could modify (i.e., umlaut) the radical diphthong *au*;³ the *u* of the radical diphthong *au* (**mau-R*) was lost before it could exert any influence (i.e., *u*-umlaut) upon the preceding short vowel⁴ *a*, otherwise the resultant compensative long vowel would have been an *ǫ* instead of *á*; this *á* became *æ* thru the influence of the immediately following *R*⁵ (i.e., the so-called *R*-umlaut).

The question now arises as to *why* the short *jð*-stems, *mær* and *þtr*, should have borrowed the *r* (*R*)-ending of the long *jð*-stems in the nom. sing. Since both *mær* 'maiden' and *þtr* 'maid-servant' denote the female *sex*, it is reasonable to assume that the analogy between these two words and the long *jð*-stems was due to the fact that words belonging to the long *jð*-

² Cf. Noreen, *Aisl. Grammatik*,³ §373, Anm. 1.

³ Cf., e. g., **sal-i-R* > *salr*, **walipð* (Goth. *walida*) > *valþa*; cf. Noreen, *Aisl. Grammatik*, §63, 2.

⁴ Cf., e. g., **nau-R* (Goth. *naus*) > *nár*, **strawipð* (Goth. *strawida*) > **stráupa* > *strápa*; cf. Noreen, *ibid.*, §77, 2.

⁵ Cf., e. g., *ǫ gær* (O. Swed. *ǫ gár*), *fær* (O. Swed. *fár*), etc.; cf. Noreen, *ibid.*, §68,¹ 2.

stems more often denoted woman or the female sex than did words belonging to the short *jð*-stems.

As a matter of fact, aside from proper names⁶ there are no short *jð*-stems (except *mær* and *þtr*) which denote the female sex, whereas there are many such words belonging to the long *jð*-stems; such as, for instance, *gýgr* 'giantess,' *rýgr* (poetic word for) 'woman,' *ylgr*⁷ 'she-wolf,' *gyltr* 'sow' (cf. *golltr*, 'boar'), *merr* 'mare,' etc.

The *r*-ending in the nom. sing. of feminine stems may thus have come to be felt as a characteristic sign for words denoting the female sex and for this reason may have been added by force of analogy to those short *jð*-stems which denoted the female sex. Thus, for instance, if *gyltr* 'sow' (long *jð*-stem), with the *r*-ending in the nom. sing., denotes the female sex corresponding to the masculine *golltr* 'boar' (*u*-stem), so in like manner the *-r* in *mær* (short *jð*-stem) 'maiden,' 'young woman,' 'daughter' may have been added in order to denote the female sex corresponding to the masculine *møgr* (*u*-stem < **magu-R* = Goth. *magus*) 'boy,' 'young man,' 'son.'

But of all those long *jð*-stems (aside from proper names) denoting woman by far the most important in its bearing upon this question is *brúþr* (Gothic *brúþs*). The word *brúþr* denoted not only a young married woman, but also, like *mær*, a young woman, maiden, daughter. The two words were, in fact, especially in poetry often used synonymously⁸ and therefore it seems probable that the addition of the *-r* in *mær* was in large part due to the influence of the word *brúþr* which, tho originally

⁶ Proper names for women occur quite frequently as short *jð*-stems, such as, for instance, *Frigg*, *Sif*, *Sigg* and the compounds ending in *-ey*, *-ný*, *-yn* or *-(v)in*, as *Lauf-ey*, *Borg-ný*, *Sig-yn*, etc.

⁷ The fact should also be noted that the only consonantal feminines which retain the old nom. sing. ending in *-r*, denote the female sex of animals; these are *kýr* 'cow,' *sýr* 'sow' and *æw* 'ewe.'

⁸ Cf., e.g., *Grottasǫngr* 10, 8 *mær bergisa* and 24, 1-2 *bergisa brúðr* 'daughter of the mountain-giants.'

an *i*-stem,⁹ had in the entire singular passed over into the *jð*-inflection. We may assume then an analogy in form between the short *jð*-stem **mauu-i(R)* and the long *jð*-stem **bráþ-i-R* by reason of the identity of meaning between these two words.

The fact must also be taken into consideration that of the *jð*-stems, which were personified or used as maiden names, by far the greater proportion belongs to the long stems and consequently adds *-r* to the nom. sing., such as, for instance, *Auþr*, *Fríþr*, *Gerþr*, *Hildr*, *Ilmr*, *Rindr*, *Þráþr* and the compounds ending in *-eiþr*, *-(f)riþr*, *-gerþr*, *-guþr*, *-hildr*, *-þráþr* (cf. *Ragn-eiþr*, *Íð-fríþr*, *Sig-ríþr*, *þor-gerþr*, *þor-guþr*, *Bryn-hildr*, *Sig-þráþr*, etc.).

The fact then that such a large number of maiden names belongs to the long *jð*-stems (and thus adds *-r* to the nom. sing.) lends increased evidence to the assumption that the *-r* was added to the nom. sing. *mær* (P. N. **mauui-R*) because, like these names, the word *mær* denoted *maiden*; and the same must be true of the short *jð*-stem *þír* (for *þý*) 'maid-servant.'

Many of the long *jð*-stems originally belonged to the *i*-inflection (such as *bráþr*, *vætr*, *Gunnr* (*Gudr*), *Auþr*, *Urðr*, etc.). It seems clear then that the *-r* (*-R*) in the nom. sing. of the long *jð*-stems owed its origin to just such feminine *i*-stems, all of which denoted the female sex.¹⁰ Thus the *r(R)*-ending

⁹ Cf. the long *i*-stem *vætr*, *vétr*, *vǫtr* (Goth. *wahts*) 'creature' which in the singular passed over into the long *jð*-stems. This word was often used for 'valkyrie' or 'warrior-maiden,' especially in compounds (e.g., *hjálm-vétr* 'helmet-creature,' 'warrior-maiden'). Similarly *Urðr* (Anglo-Saxon *wyrd*) 'fate,' used as the name of one of the Norns, was originally an *i*-stem, but later was inflected like a long *jð*-stem, except in the acc. sing. (*Urð*).

¹⁰ All other feminine *i*-stems (i.e., those *not* denoting the female sex) which retained the *-R* in the nom. sing. underwent a change of gender, cf., e.g., *burðr*, masc. *i*-stem = Gothic (*ga*)*barþs* fem. *i*-stem and *mǫtr* masc. *u*-stem = Gothic *mahts*, fem. *i*-stem. For this question cf. E. Wessén, "I-omljud och vokalsynkope i fornvästnordiskan," *Språkvetenskapliga Sällskapets i Uppsala Förhandlingar*, 1916-1918, pp. 83 ff.

Regarding the original *i*-declension of feminine nouns in Old Norse cf. further Magnus Olsen, "Valbyamulettens runeindskrift," *Kristiania Videnskabs-Selskabs Forhandlingar*, 1907, p. 10. According to Professor Olsen the original feminine *i*-declension in the singular must have broken down in favor of other declensions long before the prehistoric era: "Vi har ikke midler til at afgjøre, naar den feminine *i*-bøjning i ental er opgivet, men der kan ikke være tvil om, at dette maa være skeet en god stund før den historiske tid."

of the nom. sing. in the long *jð*-stems came to be felt as a sign for denoting the female sex. From these nouns (such as *bráð-r*, *vatt-r*, etc.) the *-r* (*-R*) spread as a regular case ending for the nom. sing. to all the long *jð*-stems irrespective of sex (cf. *heip-r*, 'heath'). From the long *jð*-stems the *r*(*R*)-ending of the nom. sing. was then transferred by analogy to those short *jð*-stems, which denoted the female sex (i.e., *mær* and *þær*).

The question now arises as to *when* the noun *mær* borrowed its *-r* (*-R*) from the long *jð*-stems.

If we examine the endings of the regular short and long *ð*-stems in Old Norse (i.e., in historical times), we find that these endings of the two classes differ only in the treatment of the *-j-* of the suffix syllable, except in the nom. sing. where the long *jð*-stems have borrowed the *r*-ending of the *i*-declension. Before the time when this different treatment was accorded to *j* after short and after long syllables, the endings in Primitive Norse were most probably the same for both short and long stems¹¹ (except in the nom. sing.), just as in Gothic. Thus, for instance, the declension of the short *jð*-stem **mauu-ið* would at this period in question have been identical with the declension of the long *jð*-stem **hild-ið* in all cases except the nom. sing.:

Sing.

Nom.	<i>*mauu-i-(R)</i> > <i>mær</i>	<i>*hild-i-R</i> > <i>hildr</i>
Gen.	<i>*mauu-jðR</i> > <i>mey-jar</i>	<i>*hild-jðR</i> > <i>hildar</i>
Dat.	<i>*mauu-ju</i> > <i>mey-(ju)</i>	<i>*hild-ju</i> > <i>hildi</i>
Acc.	<i>*mauu-ju</i> > <i>mey</i>	<i>*hild-ju</i> > <i>hildi</i>

If we assume that it was during this prehistoric period that **mauu-i-(R)* borrowed its *-R* from the long *jð*-stems, then the other case forms (i.e., other than the nom. sing.) of the word could not have been affected by this analogy, since at this time the endings for both long and short *jð*-stems were most probably the same (except in the nom. sing.). This assumption may explain why the noun *mær* did not in the other cases pass over into the inflection of the long *jð*-stems.

But even if the borrowing of the *-R* in **mauu-i-(R)* had occurred at a later period when the *-j-* of the suffix syllable

¹¹ Cf. Heusler, *Aisl. Elementarbuch*, §214.

had already been dropped after a long syllable (i.e., at the time when **hild-jôR* had already become **hild-aR*), we should hardly have expected the borrowing of case endings (on the part of the short *jô*-stems) to be extended beyond the nom. sing., inasmuch as the *R*-ending of the nom. sing. (**mauu-i-R*) was in itself sufficient to characterize the noun as denoting the female sex, over against all other short *jô*-stems which did not denote the female sex. Borrowing of case endings was often confined to one or more cases without levelling the whole declension.¹²

Whether the *-R* in **mauu-i-R* was borrowed from the long *jô*-stems before the time when this *-R* had become generalized as the nom. sing. ending for the long *jô*-stems, it is, of course, impossible to determine. But it seems most likely that this was the case (i.e., that **mauui-* became **mauui-R* before the time when, e.g., **heipi-* became **heipi-R*), because of the fact that the analogy in question had its starting point in nouns of the *i*-declension denoting the female sex (such as *brûþr*, *vætt*, etc.). This assumption is all the more plausible in that such nouns were sometimes identical in meaning with *mær* (cf. *brûþr*, *-vætt* (in compounds) = *mær* 'maiden,' *þtr* 'maid-servant').

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¹² Cf., e.g., the *-r* of the nom. sing. of the long *jô*-stems (*heip-r*) which was borrowed from the *i*-inflection (cf. *brûþ-r* which retained this *-r*), or the *-ar* of the gen. sing. of the masculine *a*-stems (cf. *graut-ar*) which owed its origin to the gen. sing. ending of the *u*-inflection (cf. *vendr:vand-ar*).

REVIEWS

The Language of the Konungs Skuggsjá (Speculum Regale). According to the Chief Manuscript, AM 243 B a, Fol. By George T. Flom. Part I: The Noun Stems and the Adjectives. Urbana 1921. (=volume VII, no. 3 of the University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature.)

It is eminently fitting that an investigation of such severely restricted appeal should be printed (and well printed) in the Studies of one of our Institutions of higher learning. Upon such serial studies, and upon the various State Academies, devolve the functions of the many and various learned societies, royal and otherwise, of Europe whose Proceedings, Comptes Rendues, Sitzungsberichte etc. have, during the last century, provided the chief repositories for the myriads of diligently accumulated facts and painstaking observations that furnish the solid, albeit, to the public, often inconspicuous, foundation of modern science. To them, more often than to the heavily burdened periodicals (which are more particularly given over to researches and conclusions drawn from these materials); and more often than to the textbooks (which frequently signify but a codification and formulation of ground won), we must go to find the objective collections of material which form as it were the 'documentary evidence' of the case.

The present investigation aims to give a scientifically exact account of the linguistic forms of the most important single document of the Old Norwegian language. It is safe to say that no one in this country, and probably very few in Scandinavia, are as familiar with the subject as the author, whose monumental Facsimile Edition of the *Konungs Skuggsjá* was likewise financed by the University of Illinois.¹ The work, when completed, will represent, virtually, a concordance of this source, with additional comments and conclusions on forms and meanings.

In the first part before us Nouns and Adjectives are studied. The method followed is to take up alphabetically, one by one, the various declension classes and to list all nominal stems where they belong—or presumably belong—thus showing the scope of each declension. Here the noun declension is by far the more important, both as to interest and space allotted—110 out of 139 pages—. In the case of the adjectives, the material is "limited to those exhibiting noteworthy forms or meanings, and where compounds and derivatives appeared to merit mention." The orthography of the diplomatic text of the manuscript is followed in all details. "In the matter of definitions an attempt has been made to give all the meanings in which a word is used in

¹ To appear in *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 1923.

the text, the one most frequently represented in the occurrences being given first.³ In the discussion, unusual meanings and those nowhere else met with are emphasized, often with the citation of entire passages in the latter case." Survivals in form or use in the Modern Norwegian dialects are noted, and frequent comparisons are made with the practice of the other Old Norwegian texts.

Before passing to the scattered observations suggested by a careful perusal of the work I desire to suggest to the learned author the desirability of rendering the results of future portions more readily accessible to others: the index—even within, and partly because of, the excessive limitations imposed—is entirely inadequate and baffling. The peculiar typographic and orthographic difficulties of the task are no excuse. In the body of the work, a somewhat more varied manner of printing might make more prominent *ἀπαξ λεγόμενα*, unusual forms, meanings, etc., which would be highly desirable for purposes of comparison with other Old Norwegian and Icelandic texts. Again, the manner of citation and the use of abbreviational symbols is vacillating throughout. For instance, in one place, we find 'Bergen Diocese,' in another, the hybrid 'North Bergenhus' (p. 73); Eddic poems are referred to, now by their full names, now by abbreviations (p. 83) etc., etc.

The author very properly lays stress on semantic differentiations, and some valuable suggestions are made. With some others I cannot agree.

Gnipa (p. 94) means, not 'mountain peak,' but 'cliff': chap. XVI *hafgerðingar* . . . *eru þær stórum fjöllum hærrí, líkar bröllum gnipum* . . .

It must be a mere lapse that *hafgerðing* (p. 60) is translated 'sea-monster' (!) after Steenstrup in 1871 had established beyond peradventure of doubt that the phenomenon referred to is a series of tidal (earthquake) waves.

mutugiarnligr (p. 116)—if nice distinctions are aimed at—does not mean 'capable of being bribed,' but 'open to bribing, venal.'

gru (p. 94). Of course there is no such word, only **gruða*, fem. which occurs in the prepositional phrase *á grufu* 'grovelling, Scot. 'on grouse' (cf. Falk and Torp, *Etym. Wb.*, sub *gruv*, *næsegrus*) which is found in the *Spec. Reg.* in the contracted *a gru*.

palstafr (p. 65) is rendered 'palstave, celt'—ignotum per ignotius—. This weapon was no doubt a heavy lance.

gestir (p. 63) should not be translated vaguely as 'a retainer of inferior rank,' but 'member of the king's body-guard, especially employed on risky errands, royal inspector, spy.' (Cf. Larsen, *Am. Hist. Rev.* XIII, 469.

læyti (p. 54), Old Icel. *hleyti*, should hardly be rendered by 'cohabitation.' 'Ties by marriage' is all that is warranted by the passage.

flaci, flak, (pp. 30, 86) is not 'a flake or sheet of wood,' nor 'wickerwork sheet of flakes of wood or branches,' but 'a curtain, made of interlacing oak branches, for purposes of defence.'

The phrase (p. 32) *hverr þeirra byr umsiðir í annars höfði* means, 'probably, not 'to tear each other's hair out,' but simply, 'rush, fall upon one another,'

³ Was it really necessary though to give e.g. the 17 meanings of *mál* (p. 38), seeing that they do not differ in any respect from the general Old Norse usage?

just as the Norwegian idiom cited *ryke i hodet paa hverandre* signifies 'to fall out by the ears.'

The differentiation between *hiol* and *hvel* (p. 35), the latter being prevailingly used in elevated diction, is well brought out in Modern Icelandic where all modern technical compounds are effected with *-hiol-*.

As to the finer distinctions the author seeks to make out in the case of *villu-stigr*, *villistigr* (p. 24), *aukanafn* in a pejorative sense (p. 39); *vegr* (to mean 'manner' as an *u*-stem, 'direction' when an *a*-stem, p. 83) it must be said that the material is too slender for establishing proof. It is after all, a mere guess to refer *kveif* 'hood' (p. 58) to Icel. *kveif* 'effeminate person.'

Skvaðr (p. 113) is evidently a scribal error for *skyaðr* and should not have had a special entry.

In the discussion on *starfsismott* (p. 75) 'work clothes' reference should have been made to *Sigdrifumál* stanza 8; cf. *Ark. f. n. Fil.* V, 124.

Just why the long footnote on *skrimsl* (p. 43) is added is not clear to me; nor the reason for the reference on the following page to it.

The abbreviation F. A. H. (p. 86) refers, presumably, to *Festskrift til Professor Amund Helland* etc., which is not accessible to me.

It is surprising to find neither the *Orðabók íslenzkrar tungu* by Jón Ólafsson, nor Jón Þorkelsson's 'Supplements' mentioned in the very extensive bibliography.

In a letter, the author calls attention to the following misprints:

matt is on p. 72 instead of on p. 81; *tunguskæðe*, on p. 102 instead of on p. 56.

The nom. mas. ending has dropped out in *flocr* (p. 16), *naddr* (p. 21), *dryccr*, *adryccr*, *dynr* (p. 63), *grunnr* (p. 64), *munr* (p. 65), and *vægr* (p. 83).

Add to this list the following: the reference to *snúðr* (p. 24) should be to 54b instead of to 51b; on p. 53 read creator instead of creature; on p. 95, *mal-luska* instead of *mulluska*.

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This quarterly, of which the first number has just come to hand, represents a new venture on the part of Scandinavian scholars. The handicap of language has always been felt by Scandinavians who have wished to place the results of their researches before the scientific world. Hitherto many an article and many a book has been published in one of the world-languages—chiefly German. But now, through the strenuous efforts of Dr. Reymert, a new journal, *The Scandinavian Scientific Review*, published wholly in the English language, has been made available for Scandinavian scientists wishing to reach

foreign workers in a similar field. As yet the journal is limited to the study of Psychology, Philosophy, and Education; but it is the plan of the editor, if his project receives due support, to branch out into other fields.

We of the English speaking world should be pleased that our language has been chosen rather than the German, toward which there has been a leaning among Scandinavian scientists up to this time. The choice is a wise one; for, since the world war, English has become even more than before our nearest approach to a real world language.

The present reviewer cannot make detailed comment on the individual articles of this issue, for they are distinctly outside his field; but he is anxious to bring to the attention of the readers of *Scandinavian Studies* the new journal and urge that all possible support be given both the editor and the publishers. If the venture is to succeed, it is necessary that subscribers be gained outside of Scandinavia, not only because of the financial aid but because it is the very essence of the plan that the journal shall serve to communicate the results of Scandinavian science to the non-Scandinavian. The plea is not for charity; the very names of the editorial board are a guarantee that the journal will be worth while. They are as follows: Professors Anathon Aall and Otto Anderssen of Norway, Professor Jaederholm of Sweden, Professor Victor Kuhr and Dr. R. H. Pedersen of Denmark, Professor Bjarnason of Iceland, and Professors Lilius and Grotenfeldt of Finland.

The editor, Dr. Reymert, has for several years carried on studies in psychology at American universities, first, as Fellow of the American Scandinavian Foundation, at Clark University, later at the University of Iowa as assistant to Professors Seashore and Baldwin. All who have come in touch with him know him to be an energetic and wide-awake scientist.

The number of the quarterly now published contains three leading articles, of which the first can be said to be the backbone of this issue: 1. *The Theory of Relativity and its Bearing on Epistemology*, by Harold Scheldrup, recently appointed professor of philosophy at the University of Kristiania. 2. *Weight of School-Children in the Summertime*, by Dr. R. H. Pedersen of Denmark. 3. *A New Elbow Ergograph*, by Dr. Martin L. Reymert, the editor. A short article in memory of the Danish psychologist Professor Lehman by Professor Aall, a survey of the present status of psychological studies in Great Britain and Ireland by C. Spearman and J. Flügel, book reviews, and, finally, news items from the universities of Scandinavia complete the issue.

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THE BALLAD OF "EBBE SKAMMELSON" AND THE "LOVER'S RETURN"

The Danish ballad of *Ebbe Skammelsøn* is one of the most tragically beautiful in all the great Grundtvig-Olrik collection.¹ Olrik called it "one of the supreme . . . poems of our literature", and though he based his appreciation of it rather upon his own reconstruction than upon any one of the eight versions which he printed,² it merits the praise he gave it. In swiftness of action, in the aptness of word and phrase to express intense emotion, in breathing vividness of characterization, it stands forth a masterpiece for any age.

Yet this most marvellous of ballads is, from the point of view of the student of folklore, a hybrid: a fact which Olrik, sovereign though he was in the domain of folklore, did not perceive. It was the sheer artistic excellence of the ballad which blinded him to its status as a piece of popular literature; and this beauty was achieved at the expense of purity of type. Admirable though it is, the *Ebbe Skammelsøn* still requires analysis and classification; to perform that function this paper was written.

Olrik saw that our ballad, however it may have been transformed by the folk, is essentially the work of a single highly endowed poet. "It is certainly," he says,³ "a romantic song, the creation of a poet. Nothing in it points toward a material, the incidents of which individually belonged to the real world . . . Every entrance of the personages is determined by finely conceived aesthetic considerations. This climactic struggle of fates and conceptions of life is the creation of a poet. It may build on a local tradition . . . a folk-tale may have given into the singer's hands the first form of the theme."

The story of the ballad is as follows:

Ebbe Skammelsøn of Ty is betrothed to Lucie-lille (A; Olrik is probably right in considering this the original name)

¹ DANMARKS GAMLE FOLKEVISER, VI. Del, Efter Forarbejder af Svend Grundtvig udgiven af Axel Olrik. København 1898. No. 354.

² *Op. Cit.*, pp. 205-6.

³ *Op. Cit.*, pp. 210-11.

or Adelluss (other versions except G); but is obliged to leave her to take service with the king. Bidding her be true to him and guard her honor, he entrusts her to his mother's care. Lucie-lille promises to wait for him seven years. While Ebbe wins gold and honor in the king's service, his brother Peder bides at home and woos Lucie-lille. Peder vows to love her all his life, but she will have nothing to do with him; he seeks to poison her mind against Ebbe, but she will not believe his slanders. Peder appeals to his mother, who loves him more than she loves Ebbe; yet Lucie-lille, assured by the mother that Ebbe is false, answers only that, false or true, Peder holds her pledge, and she will keep it while he lives. Only after Peder and the mother have convinced her of Ebbe's death does she consent to marry Peder.

Ebbe is warned of some impending peril by a dream that his house bursts into flame, consuming his brother and sweetheart; a comrade interprets the vision as prefiguring the marriage of Peder with Lucie-lille. Ebbe at once asks leave, and rides home with frantic speed. Arriving at his father's court on the first day of the bridal feast, he is met by a page, who tells him that the crowd of folk before him has assembled to witness Peder's marriage to Ebbe's maid.

As Ebbe makes his way to the hall, his mother and sisters go to meet him, urging him to enter. He demurs, fearing that trouble will follow; but he is constrained to sit on the highest bench and pour wine before the bride. (In G, he proposes this himself, insisting that his relation to the contracting parties best fits him to honor the bride; his mother urges him not to remain and bring harm upon them all). He takes the flagon and pours; every time he looks at the bride, tears run down his cheeks.

The hour grows late; the company rises to follow the bride to her chamber. Ebbe offers to bear the torch. Once within the chamber with the bride, he apparently excludes the company, and begins to upbraid Lucie-lille for her falseness to him. She answers that she has bestowed her troth on Peder, and offers to be a mother to him. "I wooed you as wife, not as mother!" he cries, and offers to kill his brother if she will flee with him. "If you kill your brother," she answers sternly,

"you shall lose me as surely, and you shall sorrow to death like bird on branch!" Hard on her answer he draws sword and cuts her down.

Hiding his bloody sword under his mantle, he descends to confront Peder, and bids him hasten to the bride that awaits him on a bed strewn with roses (B). Perceiving his brother's anger, Peder offers him possession of the bride if he will lay aside his wrath; but Ebbe bids the coward once more to haste to his bride: "She awaits thee red and white (G)." But before Peder can reply, Ebbe's wrath masters him; he hews his brother in pieces, and then, to punish his mother for her treachery, he cuts off her arm. The bride-chamber is bloody and desolate; Ebbe Skammelsøn treads the paths of exile.

Olrik regarded this ballad as a variant of the *Faithless Mistress* story,⁴ the theme of which is the following: a lover, returning after long absence, discovers that his betrothed is faithless to him, having married another. The lover at once kills his sweetheart (but does not, in most versions, kill his rival). Perhaps the best-known example of this type is the German folk-song, "Der eifersüchtige Knabe," which Olrik cites from Erk-Böhme.⁵ So far as I know, Olrik's opinion has never been questioned. I propose to show that the original theme of the *Ebbe* was a story of a very different type, and that the tragic conclusion has been interpolated by a poet familiar with one of the extant Danish ballads on the theme of the Faithless Mistress. I regard the latter type, that is, not as the type to which our ballad belongs, but as a secondary source; and the marks of the joining are still apparent.

Olrik supposed that the ballad rests upon an old tradition associated with the house of Skammel: that the hero, Ebbe Skammelsøn, lived at Norentoft⁶ in the district of Ty in Jutland, at the beginning of the 13th century; and that our ballad, in a form very close to Version A, was composed at the end of the

⁴ "I Modsætning til den poetiske Rigdom, hvormed Fæstemændens Drab paa den ulro Fæstemø er fremstillet i 'Ebbe Skammelsøn,' har en Række af danske og fremmede Viser af ringere Omfang fremstillet lignende Optrin i hele deres 'Vanvid og Brutalitet.'" . . . *Op. cit.*, p. 252. The italics are mine.

⁵ *Loco citato*.

⁶ DGF VI, 211-14.

same century. The first of these conclusions he based upon a local tradition of Norentoft, cited by Anne Krabbe at the end of the 16th century, and confirmed by a genealogy which, compiled in the 17th century, is known to be accurate as far back as 1300. "For the 13th century," Olrik says,⁷ "the genealogy has a certain trustworthy stamp." The age of the poem he ascertains from the history of the name *Skammel* and from a form in the first line—an old dative ending (*Tye*, *Tyde*) which disappeared, in prose, before the end of the 13th century. In my opinion this proves the antiquity of the line in which it occurs, but not that of the bulk of the ballad. That first line may well have survived many vicissitudes which might have transformed much of the rest. Whatever conceivably may or may not have happened to the ballad as a whole, that one line would be sure to remain, since it localizes the action: "*Skammel han buor seg nør i Tye.*" This line is, in fact, identical—with insignificant variations—in seven of the eight versions, although those versions differ considerably in length, and even in details of the action.⁸

The tradition which Olrik regarded as the basis for the poem makes its earliest recorded appearance in 1676, as evidence offered at the Hundborg Herredsting in that year. Witnesses brought forward by the owner of Norentoft reported the story of Ebbe's murder of his brother, "efter den Digt og Vises Lydelse, som derom gjort er."⁹ But this proves only that, in 1676 (and undoubtedly also in the closing years of the preceding century, since Anne Krabbe knew the association of *Skammel* with Norentoft) both our ballad and a tradition to much the same effect were in existence; there is no evidence to show that the tradition is the basis of the ballad, or older than the ballad. Their relations may be the reverse. Nor can we hope for any light on their relative age and originality, unless from internal evidence furnished by the ballad.

The tradition, as offered in evidence at the Herredsting, mentions only the murder of Peder by his brother Ebbe: it has nothing to say of his sweetheart. The ballad seems to deal

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 213.

⁸ Version F reads: "*Skammel hand boer sig ude ved aae.*"

⁹ DGF VI, 211. See this page for Anne Krabbe's note as well.

with two sorts of material: a family or local tradition of the murder of one brother by another; and the romantic story of a lover who slays his sweetheart. If the tradition originally contained both these elements, we should expect some allusion to the heroine's tragic death in the evidence entered at the Herredsting. Her murder is at least as striking, from any point of view, as Peder's.

The romantic elements may have come in later, transforming the ballad from one merely of fratricide; and it may well be that they were introduced, at least in part, by the admirable poet who gave the ballad its tender pathos, its rich color, and its unusual characterization. I shall attempt to show from what sources these romantic elements—whether present in the earliest form of our ballad, or introduced (as I believe) during the later stages of its development—were derived.

Those sources were, I think, two-fold: first, a ballad or tale belonging to the same story-type as the English Horn-cycle—the type known as *Lover's Return*, or, less accurately, as "*Heimkehrender Gatte*," which exists in many variants on Scandinavian soil; and secondly, a ballad of the well-known *Faithless Mistress* type. I shall ask permission to discuss the second theme first.

The Faithless Mistress theme is represented, in the Grundtvig-Olrik collection, by three distinct ballads: *Utro Fæstemø* (No. 355), *Utro Slegfred* (No. 356), and *Hr. Tavl og hans Mø* (No. 357). These three differ, as stories, only in the degree of baseness characterizing the heroine's actions, and in the manner of death which her betrayed lover inflicts upon her. It is significant that in all three, and in all other variants of the theme, the heroine deliberately betrays her lover and breaks her vow; she brings catastrophe upon herself, and is clearly felt as deserving her fate. I shall discuss only the first of the three Danish variants, *Utro Fæstemø*; since it is this one ballad which, of its type, stands closest to the narrative of the *Ebbe*.

Little Kirsten plights her troth to Hr. Nils, promising to marry no man but him, though the king himself seek her hand. Nils rides away and is absent many years; meanwhile Hr.

Knud woos Kirsten with rich promises. She asks her seven brothers to advise her: their rede is short and to the point—"Make answer swift, make answer soon: you cannot break your troth. If bold Sir Nils comes home, he will grieve sorely. You must keep your honor." Kirsten disregards their counsel; on the same day she marries Knud. Nils comes home on the first day of the wedding-feast, goes straight to the bride, and asks: "Do you not remember the day you gave me your promise?" "I remember it well," she replies. "I have given my troth to Knud. All the days of my life I will be a mother to you." Nils draws sword and stabs her. The ballad ends with a moral: "Now I rede you all, ye proud young maids, who have marriage in your mind: Give your word to but one young man, and to him be true and kind!"

In all variants of this theme, the tragedy is a logical consequence of the heroine's faithlessness: like the Geats in *Beowulf*, she had asked for woe. In *Utro Fæstemø* the bride is a heartless, wanton jilt, who casts off her betrothed merely to make a wealthier marriage. Her behavior appears the more reprehensible for her rejection of her brothers' advice. She is determined to be faithless; her death is pure justice.

Utro Fæstemø has several stanzas in common with the *Ebbe*¹⁰—a fact which, in itself, has no great significance unless the stanzas involved cannot possibly be regarded as common ballad stock. In the two ballads under discussion, we are not dealing with stock stanzas, but with stanzas belonging only to the *Ebbe* and to *Utro Fæstemø*, and surely borrowed by one of these two ballads from the other. The characteristic resemblances, and no less the characteristic differences, of two more or less similar poems or tales, may be of vital consequence. Olrik saw, in general, how important were these stanzas common to the *Ebbe* and to UF, but he did not see the importance of their differences.

Olrik is surely right in his belief that *Utro Fæstemø* (= UF) derived from the *Ebbe* the following features: (A) the hero's return on the very day of his sweetheart's marriage; (B) the heroine's promise to be a mother to her deceived lover.¹¹

¹⁰ As Olrik has pointed out: DGF VI, 253.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

Neither of these features is present in any other version of the *Faithless Mistress* story.

But there are other resemblances between these two ballads. In both, the hero recalls to his sweetheart her promise to be true to him; in both, she replies: "The promise I made you is given to another." In both, her answer is followed—though not quite at once, in the *Ebbe*—by the deathblow.

Olrik usually regarded any incongruity in a ballad-stanza or situation as evidence that the stanza or situation is spurious, or the result of confusion or borrowing;¹² yet he failed to see that Ebbe's murder of his betrothed is incongruous with all that precedes it. In *Faithless Mistress* stories it is in place for the hero to kill the jilt who has deceived him—it is the direct consequence and punishment of her faithlessness; the sympathy of the folk was unquestionably with the hero. But in the *Ebbe*, the heroine's murder is an unjustifiable crime, in utter violation of that poetic justice of which the folk has always been fond. Ballads indeed exist in which the characters are not rewarded according to their deserts; but we are justified in regarding with suspicion a ballad or folk-tale the outcome of which grossly insults fundamental justice—and this is true of the *Ebbe*.

For Ebbe's betrothed is felt throughout as acting in good faith, as the victim of the wiles of others. Her conduct is not only blameless; it is noble. Nor is her death one of those pitiful tragedies of misunderstanding: Ebbe knew she would have kept her pledge to him had she not been deceived by his brother and mother; for he kills his brother and cuts off his mother's arm.

In the *Ebbe*, in brief, all that precedes the murder of the bride is out of keeping with the murder, and equally at variance with the action and motivation of all known variants of the *Faithless Mistress* type: only the tragic conclusion is the same. I think it probable, therefore, that—whatever the situation with regard to Peder's death—the killing of the bride did not originally belong to the story of Ebbe Skammelsøn; and there is much to indicate that this final tragic element came over

¹² For example, the grounds on which Olrik accepts or rejects stanzas in his reconstruction of the original form of the *Ebbe*, pp. 203-5.

into our ballad from *Utro Fæstemø*. The identity of a good half of the dialogue between heroine and lover, in the two ballads, is an almost literal one; and the very stanzas describing the murder are almost identical.¹³

But this assumption can be justified only by evidence to show that the *Ebbe* should have had a definite ending of quite another sort. Fortunately the kind of ending demanded by the *donnée* is preserved in a considerable number of ballads widely current in Scandinavia, and all belonging to the type *Lover's Return*. This type was more popular in Scandinavia than anywhere else, and is represented by a larger number of ballads than any other theme.

The theme may be stated as follows: A lover, separated from his betrothed, returns on the very day of her enforced marriage to another. Obtaining access to her, usually in disguise, he reveals himself to her through a token, and then possesses himself of her, either by force of arms or by a trick.

¹³ Cf. *Ebbe* A, 25-27, B 36-38, C 36-37, etc., with UF A 13-15, B 24-26, C 22-23, D 18-20.

Cf. also the following stanzas:

Ebbe A 30: "Dett vor Ebi Skammell-søn,
handtt sitt suer udt-dro;
dett vor Luce-lile,
handtt till iorden voff."

UF C 24: "Det var bolden hr. Niels,
han sit sværd uddrog;
det var liden Kirsten,
hendes hoved af han hug."

Ebbe C 41: "Thett war Ebbi Skammelssen,
Och hand sin suerd uddrog;
thett war iomfru Adeludz,
hannd alle (y) stycker hog." Cf. D 32, G 37.

* * *

Ebbe B 44: "Hand woo brudenn for brudeseng,
thett wor saa stuor enn harum;
thett wor den hyffue guld-kronn,
hun y thett røde (bluod) samm."

UF D 21: "Dette var bolde Herre Nileros,
hug lidelen Kirstin til Død,
te Blodet rand ned opaa Brudesal-Jord,
og dette var alt saa rød."

This type is represented in England by the Horn-cycle,¹⁴ by the *King Estmere*,¹⁵ and—with a curious inversion of the rôles of hero and heroine—by the Young Beichan.¹⁶ I summarize the story of Horn—the best representative of the type—from the Middle English romance of *King Horn*:

Horn, the son of King Murray, is set adrift on the sea, with twelve young companions, by a Saracen Emir who has killed the hero's father and seized his dominions. They come to land at Westernesse, and are brought up at the court of King Aylmer. When Horn is grown, he is loved by Aylmer's daughter Rimenhild, who calls him to her chamber and offers him her love. He declines abruptly, declaring that he cannot marry until he has won glory enough to make him worthy of her. Having persuaded her father to knight the young hero, Rimenhild has the joy of seeing him distinguish himself in his first encounter. On a second visit to her chamber, he receives from her a ring which, she tells him, will preserve him from all harm in battle, if he will but look upon it and think of her. In the midst of this interview the lovers are surprised by the King, who has been persuaded by Fikenild, the one Judas among Horn's twelve companions, that the hero has seduced Rimenhild. Horn is banished. Before he departs, he tells Rimenhild that he will be absent in distant lands for seven years, and that she may consider herself free to marry another if he fails to return or to send for her at the end of that time. He then takes ship, arrives at the court of King Thurston, and assists this monarch in his wars against the Pagans. Thurston offers Horn his daughter in recognition of his services; but the hero puts the offer aside.

¹⁴ This cycle comprises an Old French romance, *Horn et Rimenhild*, probably of the 12th century; two Middle English romances: *King Horn* (probably 13th century) and *Horn Child* (14th century); and the English ballad *Hind Horn*. The French romance was edited for the Bannatyne Club by F. Michel (Paris, 1845); *King Horn* has been well edited by G. H. McKnight (Early English Text Society, 1901) and Joseph Hall (Oxford, 1901); *Horn Child* was printed in J. Ritson's *Metrical Romances*, III; for *Hind Horn*, see F. J. Child, *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, Vol. I (1882), No. 17.

¹⁵ Child, *Ballads*, No. 60.

¹⁶ Child, No. 53.

He remains with Thurston seven years, without sending word to Rimenhild. In the meantime, King Modi of Reynes seeks Rimenhild's hand, and her father gives his consent. The princess, in despair, sends messengers over all the world with letters for Horn: one, a page, finds the hero, and tells him of Rimenhild's straits. Horn bids the page tell Rimenhild that he will return in time; but the page is drowned. Taking leave of Thurston, who gives him a company of knights, Horn returns to Westernesse, conceals his men in a wood, and goes toward the palace alone. A palmer appears, who has been to Rimenhild's wedding, and tells Horn that she has been forcibly married to Modi. Horn obliges the palmer to change clothes with him, proceeds to court, and attends the wedding feast as a pilgrim or beggar, sitting in the beggar's row. Athulf, his faithful foster brother, is up in the tower, whither he has been sent to scan the sea for Horn's ship.

Rimenhild rises to pour beer for the guests, according to custom. Horn demands to drink with the first, and receives a bowl of beer. Bidding Rimenhild "drink to Horn from the horn," he throws into that receptacle the ring which she had given him. Deeply moved by the name of her lover, Rimenhild goes to her bower, where she discovers the ring at the bottom of the bowl. Sending for the beggar (or palmer), she asks whence he had the ring. He replies that he had met Horn, and seen him die on the voyage home. Rimenhild tries to stab herself, but the hero reveals his identity, and bids her wait for him till he can summon his men from ambush. He goes; soon his host attacks the castle and kills King Modi and all the guests except Horn's twelve friends and King Aylmer.

But Horn does not marry Rimenhild until he has won back his father's kingdom, and rescued her from a second enforced marriage. This time his rival is his false foster-brother Fikenild. Winning access to Fikenild's hall with his men disguised as minstrels, Horn rescues his bride.

We are too much inclined to look upon popular stories as the children of folly fathered by a lively imagination. Consider the utter logic of the central situation in the *Horn*:

The hero has heard of his sweetheart's plight, and resolves to rescue her. But she is in her father's house; and since her

father has arranged the marriage with the hero's rival, he presumably will do all in his power to keep the hero off the premises. The hero cannot force his way in, nor can he approach with a host without rousing suspicion. He must get in alone to accomplish his purpose. To do this he must disguise himself.

But once in, his disguise prevents not only his rival, and his enemies, but the girl as well, from recognizing him. In order to rescue or elope with her, he must reach an understanding with her. To do this, he must reveal his identity to her without letting anyone else present know who he is. This accounts for the device of the ring surreptitiously thrown into the winecup; also for the heroine's summoning him, for the conference in which ways and means must be determined, to her chamber. Once alone together, hero and heroine lose no time in settling upon means of escape.

Nothing could be more simply and beautifully logical. The ring in the cup is not a mere pretty touch; it has a vital function. It is the token by which the hero reveals himself to the heroine without risking discovery by others. Nor is the visit to the chamber a mere romantic repetition of Horn's earlier and disastrous visit. Horn *must* have a secret conference with Rimenhild if he is to arrange the details of the rescue.

Now this is the kind of logic that the folk understand and demand. For, however much the ballad form condenses, however many details of the story may be sung out, forgotten, or obscured in the course of oral transmission, this sequence of disguise, token, interview in the heroine's chamber, and rescue is very seldom mutilated or confused in the various versions of the *Lover's Return*. With very few and insignificant exceptions, the whole sequence, or almost the entire sequence, is given, in its proper order, in almost every tale or ballad of the type.

In the tale of Halfdan Frodason, for example, in the seventh book of Saxo Grammaticus, every feature which appears in the *King Horn* is preserved, with the single exception of the visit to Gurid's chamber. It is not specifically stated that the hero is disguised; but we are told that the guests do not recognize him. He has no ring to cast in the winecup; but "that he might not betray himself by too plain and open

speech, he composed a dark and ambiguous song," which satisfies the heroine as to his identity. The visit to the chamber for conference is not necessary because he has in ambush no mere handful, but an overwhelming force.

It is obvious that individual details in this sequence may be, and inevitably will be altered, as the tale passes from age to age, from land to land, from one literary form to another. But it will be altered only superficially; the essential character and function of each step in the sequence almost always remain, for they are essential to a clear and intelligible narrative. Thus Halfdan reveals himself by a concealed allusion instead of a concealed ring; but the purpose and the effect are in both cases the same. Halfdan is not disguised, but disguise is involved; for Saxo tells us that Halfdan had gone away marked by a facial disfigurement and has come back without it.¹⁷

Now this theme of the *Lover's Return* is treated in ten distinct Danish ballads: Numbers 49, 72, 124, 387, 388, 389, 390, 394, 395, and 397 of the Grundtvig collection. Many of these appear in Swedish and Norwegian versions. It is impossible to discuss, within the limits of this paper, all the resemblances which these ballads bear to one another, and to the *Horn*; I shall therefore restrict myself here to general statements, and supply details in a brief appendix.

In nearly all of these ten ballads, almost every detail of the central situation is as perfectly preserved as in the *Horn*, although each is naturally set forth much more briefly. The steps of the sequence have been preserved by their necessity. They have undergone certain changes, but they are there, even though the manner in which the hero effects his capture of the bride varies. In four of the Danish ballads, he appears at the wedding-feast in disguise; in two of these four, as in two of the remaining six, he takes his betrothed by force of arms, as in the *Horn* and in Saxo; in six of the entire ten, he wins his bride from his rival by a trick which obviates the necessity of combat. In almost all, he appears either definitely in disguise or unrecognized. But in all but one (No. 124: see Appendix), the same sequence of events as in the *Horn* characterizes the

¹⁷ Alfred Holder, *Saxonis Grammatici Gesta Danorum* (Strassburg, 1886), Lib. VII.

recognition and rescue scenes, with such minor deviations as I have noted in my appendix: disguise or failure to recognize the hero, the hero's pouring the wine before the bride, in order to get speech with her, and the visit to her chamber, with the rescue immediately following. In nearly all the Danish ballads, the hero volunteers to bear the torch before the bride as she retires; once at the door, he shuts himself in the chamber with her. In the chamber, as in the *Horn*, follows the conference concerning means of escape; but from this point on there is variation. In several of the ballads, the hero takes the bridegroom's place and privilege; in two, this situation results in the storming of the chamber by the bridegroom and his death at the hero's hands; in one (No. 390), the bridegroom is forced to joust with the hero, and falls; in another (No. 395), the action of the entire ballad parallels the *Horn*, except in the use of the ring. In the six remaining ballads, either the hero, as in *King Estmere* and *Young Lochinvar*, runs off with the bride, or—and this is more usual—after he has taken the bridegroom's place in the bridal bed, his disappointed rival gives up his claim, with the philosophical reflection: "She was his before she was mine."¹⁸

To sum up these details, as they appear in all the Scandinavian ballad-versions of the *Lover's Return*, and as they appear nowhere else in all the Scandinavian ballad-corpus—except in the *Ebbe Skammelsøn*: The hero, hearing that his betrothed is to be married to another, appears at the wedding feast, disguised or unrecognized; he pours wine before the bride; under pretext of lighting her to her chamber he contrives to be alone with her there. He then either takes the bridegroom's place, or agrees with the bride that they shall flee together.

All these features, as summarized in the preceding paragraph, are found in the Danish ballads of the *Lover's Return* (=LR) type; most of them are in the *Ebbe*. The following features are not in the *Ebbe*: (1) Disguise; (2) Flight, or deception of the bridegroom. But *Ebbe* does not need to disguise himself, for the wedding is held, not in the house of the bride's

¹⁸ For detailed references and discussion of these details, see appendix.

father, but in Ebbe's own house; and he does ask Lucie-lille to flee with him. But the most important single feature which the *Ebbe* has in common with almost all extant variants of the type LR—with almost all the Scandinavian ballads of that type—is the interview which the hero has with the bride *in her chamber*, for the purpose of rescuing her from his rival.

This feature, which the *Ebbe* shares with LR, does not appear at all in *Utro Fæstemø*, nor in other variants of the *Faithless Mistress* type. Nor does UF possess a single feature in common with any LR variant except the hero's return on his sweetheart's wedding day; and that, as we have seen, UF borrowed from the *Ebbe*. The chamber-scene has but one function: to give the hero his opportunity to take possession of, or to rescue, the bride. It was that function which it should have fulfilled in the *Ebbe*; for Ebbe asks Lucie-lille to flee with him. It is plain, then, that the resemblances to the several variants of LR which are found in the *Ebbe* are fundamental, and that the points in which the *Ebbe* resembles UF are secondary and due to contamination.

The *Ebbe* has almost the entire LR sequence which leads up to and prepares for the flight, or the rescue of the bride; but the dénouement which is the logical consequence of these preparatory features is missing—in its stead we have stark tragedy. Ebbe's murder of his bride stands out in horrible inconsistency with all that precedes it.

Olrik¹⁹ contrasts Ebbe's sweetheart with little Kirsten of UF as a different type of faithless sweetheart, but he regards the two ballads as belonging to the same type. Now the three Danish ballads of that type all represent their heroines as deliberately false; and none of them possesses a trace of the sequence which we have found in LR and in the *Ebbe*. In view of the fact that two-thirds of the *Ebbe*, that two-thirds giving the *donnée* and comprehending everything except the actual tragedy, is pure LR, we are surely justified in assuming that the *Ebbe* is not preserved in its original form: that a conclusion like that in the numerous ballads of the LR type is demanded, and must once have been present. The conclusion

¹⁹ DGF VI, 252.

in the ballad as we have it, with its wholly unjustified murder of the bride when she refuses to flee with her lover, is certainly taken over from UF—from UF itself rather than from another ballad of the same type, since only UF represents the slaying in the same form as the *Ebbe*.

The elaborate preparation for the scene in the bride's chamber, as it stands now in the *Ebbe*, is excrescent and inconsistent; but it would have been vital to an earlier form of the ballad preserving the happy ending characteristic of LR. In the *Faithless Mistress* type, the hero, returning to find his betrothed married to another, kills her promptly and quite openly. If the *Ebbe* belonged to this type, there would be no use for the scene in the chamber. This preparatory scene, then, must either be interpolated into the *Ebbe* or a survival, in the *Ebbe*, of an earlier LR situation. But it cannot be an interpolation: for as such it would be meaningless; and if excised, it would leave nothing but a complete justification of the heroine, followed by her wanton murder on the hero's return. And these two are irreconcilable. For—I repeat—this is not a tragedy of misunderstanding: *Ebbe* knows that his sweetheart is innocent, and that his brother and mother are responsible; and he punishes them accordingly.

That Danish ballad which stands closest to the *Horn, Hr. Erik af Sverig* (Grundtvig-Olrik No. 395), not only presents the same sequence of features which characterizes both the LR type in general and the *Ebbe*, but, in version C, contains four consecutive stanzas (17-20) which, up to the last line of the fourth, repeat word for word the stanzas which contain the corresponding situation in the *Ebbe*: the hero pours wine before the bride, goes to her, asks her if she remembers her promise to him, and receives her reply. The only difference is that, instead of refusing to flee with him, the heroine of *Hr. Erik* exhorts him to take her by the white hand and bear her away. The literal identity of these four stanzas in each poem is not in itself proof that the two ballads have used the same stuff; the *Erik* may have borrowed from the *Ebbe*—they appear in only one version of *Erik*. But the possibility of such a borrowing, their use in a situation similar up to the final moment, is eloquent evidence that the two ballads were felt

to be kindred in theme; and the last line of *Erik C 20* suggests what must originally have followed Ebbe's proposal that Lucie-lille flee with him. Otherwise, all that lies between the hero's appearance at the wedding and the bride's answer to his proposal has no business in the ballad.

One feature of the *Ebbe* appears in no other ballad of the LR type: Ebbe is warned in a dream of his sweetheart's impending marriage. But this feature does appear in the *Horn*. The author—for Olrik has shown that we are entitled to use this term—of the *Ebbe* has made skillful use of it to foreshadow the double murder; but it certainly has no place in ballads of the *Faithless Mistress* type. It, and the heroine's virtuously indignant retort to Ebbe's offer to slay his brother and carry her off, prepare the way for the tragedy; and for her reply there is no parallel anywhere.

The stanzas between the murder of Lucie-lille and that of Peder are quite unparalleled in ballad literature, and bear every mark of the conscious literary artist. The savage irony with which Ebbe, fresh from the slaughter of the bride, taunts his brother; the cruel hidden meaning in his "Thy bridal bed is strewn with roses (B)," "the bride awaits thee red and white (G)"—are obviously not of popular origin. They are the sign-manual of a poet managing his material to suit his ends, subordinating that material to his sense of the dramatic; and such a poet would readily borrow where and how he saw fit, to compass his tragic effect. This explains what, in a more genuinely popular composition, would have been inexplicable: the murder of a heroine who has been completely justified. Lucie-lille does not consent to marry Peder till she is convinced of Ebbe's death. The ballad protests her innocence and her loyalty so strongly, and so justifies her final surrender, that we must postulate two steps in the ballad's development: First, an original form in which—as in LR generally—she was forced to marry her lover's rival, and was rescued by her lover's timely return on the wedding day; secondly, the interpolation—from UF—of a tragic conclusion by a skilled poet who saw the tremendous dramatic possibilities in bringing catastrophe upon an innocent and noble heroine. For it is clear to anyone who studies our ballad that the poet who gave

it its marvellous quality was very anxious to justify her; and justification is necessary, *to the folk*, only if her innocence is to save her life and reunite her to her lover. But to the conscious artist, the tragedy comes with the greater force because of her very innocence. He was successful; as an artist, he was right: the power of his conception obviously appealed to the people, since the ballad exists in eight versions in Denmark alone, and in later prose redactions.²⁰

If the *Ebbe* had come down to us mutilated, with the stanzas which describe the bride's murder missing, anyone who knows the Danish ballads would at once have classified it, together with the ballads of *Karl Høvdning*, *Lovmand og Tord*, etc., as a variant of the LR theme.²¹ But this tragic element has loomed so large, and so deeply impressed Olrik with the poet's skill, that he was unable to see any evidence of contamination or confusion in such a masterpiece. He regarded the ballad as the work of a supreme singer, who used, as his sole source, an oral tradition, and, adding nothing to the material found in that source, clothed it in richest poetic garb.

And it is the work of a supreme singer. Only such a poet could have stood so remote from the point of view of the folk as to give a tragic ending to the *donnée* of the *Ebbe*. The folk, or a minstrel representative of the folk, would have been completely under the domination of the material which came to them. They, or a folk-minstrel, would inevitably follow out, in the conclusion of the story, the true LR type; for that type is so widely represented in Scandinavia, and the fidelity of the variants to the type, and their uniform consistency, so marked, as to exclude the possibility of conceiving a tragic ending to a ballad that begins as the *Ebbe* begins.

We may conclude, then, that the earliest form of our ballad was a ballad of the LR type, in which the hero returned to kill his rival—in this case a faithless brother—and possess himself of his sweetheart. Behind this there may have been an oral tradition of the murder of Peder Skammelsøn by his brother Ebbe; or the tradition itself may be derived from

²⁰ DGF 211-12; 214-16.

²¹ Olrik saw, of course, that *Karl Høvdning* and *Lovmand og Tord* belong to this type: see DGF, Vol. VII, Introduction to No. 387 (p. 5).

the earlier form of the ballad. Later, a skillful poet saw the tragic possibilities of a fusion of the original *Ebbe* ballad with the fatal conclusion of UF, and produced the splendid poem which lies behind the extant versions. To effect his purpose, he must stress the bride's innocence and the repeated assaults on her loyalty still more than they had been stressed in his original—for the folk would have taken them for granted. She is a lamb led to the slaughter; and in the contrast between her whiteness and the red horror of her murder lies the poet's triumph. As a piece of folklore, the ballad is contaminated; as a piece of literature, it is unrivalled.

If it seem improbable that a ballad should develop in this way, let me point out the inclusiveness of the very term "ballad." Olrik demonstrated that the genius of a single poet is responsible for all that is great in this unique poem. Surely a poet of the first order is as capable of shaping his material to suit his ends as he is of controlling his characters or his dialogue, his vocabulary or his figures of speech. The several variants on the LR theme are conventional romance; the *Ebbe* is high tragedy. Than such a conversion there could be no finer demonstration of a great poet's powers.

Olrik's classification of our ballad with the *Faithless Mistress* group assumes that the tail can wag the dog; but it has one advantage over my theory: it supposes a simpler task for the poet. My view requires one to believe that an admittedly great poet tried to fuse two mutually antagonistic themes into one, and carried off the glaring incongruity by its sheer tragic horror, and by playing on the strings of pity. But the incongruity is there, an incongruity so shocking, in spite of the poet's skill, that a popular tradition furnishing it ready-made to his hands is inconceivable. The folk may not be sternly logical, but they are logical so far as they see; they are never found covering up anti-logic with an appeal to tears. It may seem incredible that the folk did not feel the incongruity in the *Ebbe*. They *did* feel it—so keenly that two versions, B and G, have been fitted out with an account of a terrible self-imposed penance endured by the hero for the rest of his life; two more, E and H, make him a beggar and wanderer over the face of the earth. H, a long and presumably late version, concludes with

a moral plainly adapted from UF. This treatment of the poem when the folk got hold of it points toward just such a literary transformation as I have suggested: one which, though too powerful in its emotional appeal to be resisted, was yet in conflict with popular conceptions.

But this glaring contrast between the heroine's innocence and her unmerited death, the anti-logic of her murder following hard upon a narrative sequence belonging to a happier type, shocks only the folk, who know how stories ought to go, and the modern investigator, with his nose for categories. Shocked or no, the folk admired and repeated the ballad; and the modern investigator admires as deeply and more discerningly. These illogical combinations, this affront to justice, are dramatic triumphs. They rend our hearts with pity, as the hearts of Duncan's subjects were rent with "the deep damnation of his taking-off."

APPENDIX

DANISH BALLADS BELONGING TO THE TYPE: *Lover's Return*

A. Features essential to the type which appear in the ballads:

I. *Malfred og Magnus* (DGF No. 49). Magnus arrives at the Spanish court on day of Malfred's enforced marriage to "Spanelandtz h  ffding." He enters bridal chamber by stealth, kills bridegroom, and takes the latter's place in the bride-bed. Lovers flee. (So Version A; in B, Magnus bears torch before bride, and in that manner gains access to chamber.)—Two versions. *Lover's Return* the central one of three badly joined themes.

II. *Unge Hr. Tor og Jomfru Tore* (DGF No. 72). Enforced marriage. Tor arrives on wedding day, disguised as minstrel. Tore recognizes him by his harp-playing. By challenging wedding company to play draughts, Tor succeeds in being left alone with Tore, who alone of company can play. Exchange of riddles serves as additional token (cf. Halfdan Frodason, Saxo, Book VII), and to acquaint each of lovers with the other's mind. Lovers flee. So A, C; B, D, E lack harp-playing, and leave disguise to be inferred from term "fremmede suenne" applied to Tor (B 23, D 78, E 102).—Five versions.

III. *Rosengard og Hillelille* (DGF No. 124). Enforced marriage. Hero arrives on wedding day; lovers escape.—The entire sequence so characteristic of the type is lacking here: hero does not enter hall, but remains at his ships, and bride steals away to him. This ballad, however, together with 387 and 388, preserves one feature strikingly paralleled in the English *King Horn*, and distorted in *Young Beichan*: the bride refuses to enter the bride-bed till her lover's arrival.—One version.

IV. *Lovmand og Tord* (DGF No. 387). As above. Hero steals into bride-chamber without entering hall, and enters bride-bed. Rival agrees to take hero's sister in place of heroine.—Thirteen versions, N fragmentary.

V. *Nilus Samsings Brud* (DGF No. 388). Hero's rival steals heroine from convent, and is to marry her. Rest of story like *Lovmand og Tord*.—One version.

VI. *Karl Høvdig* (DGF No. 389). Hero arrives on wedding day, disguises himself as heroine's brother, pours wine before the bride, and exchanges secret speech with her. He bears torch before her to bridal chamber, locks himself in chamber with her. Rival storms chamber and is killed. (Disguise lacking in D)—Nine versions.

VII. *Lave og Jon* (DGF No. 390). Similar to *Karl Høvdig*, except that disguise is not mentioned, and a joust takes the place of the fight in the chamber.—Six versions.

VIII. *Svend Dyrings Brud* (DGF No. 394). Much like *Lovmand og Tord*, except that B and D seem to imply that a fight takes place as in *Karl Høvdig*. No disguise; hero is recognized by bride's father, but contrives to follow bride to her chamber.—Four versions.

IX. *Hr. Erik af Sverig* (DGF No. 395). Hero arrives on wedding day disguised as pilgrim. He pours wine before bride, and contrives to speak with her. Hero's men attack hall, and lovers escape. No visit to chamber.—Three versions.

X. *Albret bortfører Bruden* (DGF No. 397). Hero arrives on wedding-day, disguised as a woman. Pours before bride, and so contrives to reveal himself to her. Follows bride to chamber, bearing torch; in the chamber, the lovers plan flight. (So A; in B, hero flees with bride during a dance; in C and D,

he is allowed to attend bride to her chamber to dance before her, and flees with her).—Four versions.

B. Comment:

1. The element of *disguise* definitely appears in four of the above ballads: Nos. 72, 389, 395, and 397. It is implied in No. 49, for the hero of that ballad is passed off as the bride's brother (cf. disguise as bride's brother, No. 389). In the remaining five ballads, disguise must be assumed as essential to the hero's admittance to the hall—except in No. 124, where the heroine seeks out the hero's ship instead of waiting for his appearance in the hall. In only one ballad (No. 394) is the hero recognized—the result is a ludicrously impossible situation.

2. The hero *pours wine before the bride*, and thereby wins an opportunity to make himself known to her, in four ballads: DGF Nos. 389, 390, 395, and 397. In one, No. 72, he substitutes another method of approaching the bride: disguised as a minstrel, he plays the harp before her. This is paralleled in *King Horn* (Horn's appearance at Fikenild's castle) and in *King Estmere* (Child, No. 60). In DGF No. 49, no such method of approaching the bride is needed, since the hero is supposed to be her brother. No. 394, which also lacks the wine-pouring, is derived largely from No. 387. Nos. 387 and 388 represent the hero as gaining access to the bridal chamber by stealth, without first entering the hall—an impossible situation, which can be explained only by assuming that these two ballads took shape after the type *Lover's Return* had become so familiar that its details could be taken for granted.

3. In four ballads (DGF Nos. 49, 124, 387, 388), the hero has no *speech with the bride* until the actual rescue. No. 49, however, implies a previous understanding with her; No. 124 uses a unique method of rescue, the heroine assuming the more active rôle. For Nos. 387, 388, see preceding paragraph.

4. In five ballads (DGF Nos. 49, 72, 124, 387, 388), the hero does not *bear the torch* before the bride. In No. 49, the lack of this feature results in confusion; in No. 72, the device of the game of draughts takes its place; in 124, the heroine's stratagem renders it unnecessary; for Nos. 387, 388, see last paragraph but one.

5. The *visit to the bride's chamber* is lacking in three ballads (DGF Nos. 72, 124, 395). In No. 72, the game of draughts must, however, be assumed to take place in the chamber, since hero and heroine are alone together. Version A (Stanza 44) gives the place as "y loft"; the other versions are not explicit.

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REGARDING "SUBCONSCIOUS ELEMENTS IN THE COMPOSITION OF *PEER GYNT*"

In his article "Phases of Ibsen's Authorship" (*Scan. Studies and Notes*, VII, 3, 1922) Professor Julius E. Olson has treated the question of "Subconscious Elements in the Composition of *Peer Gynt*" (pp. 65-73). Professor Olson explains the difference between the naïve, human and natural character of Peer in the first three acts and his artificial, abstract and less human nature in the last two acts as due primarily to the fact that in the first part of the poem Peer "is a creature of the poet's free-flowing fancy," while in the latter part he is "a product of the poet's halting process of ratiocination." The reason for the poet's "free-flowing fancy" Professor Olson ascribes to the psychological process of subliminal mentation, a spontaneous upsurging of subconscious impressions in Ibsen's mind. Professor Olson has quoted reliable authorities on psychology to the effect that such a spontaneous upsurging of subconscious impressions is the true source of genius.

No one, I surmise, will disagree with Professor Olson with regard to the spontaneous composition of the first part of *Peer Gynt*; on the other hand it will always be a matter of speculation, I think, as to just how far we are justified in ascribing subconscious elements to individual details of this poem. In assuming a general hypothesis of this nature (i.e., regarding subconscious elements), one always runs the danger of forcing his interpretation into the category of a postulated theory. It is a question, I think, just how far the theory is applicable. For instance, Professor Olson quotes (p. 73) one passage in particular in the first act of *Peer Gynt*, which according to the theory of subconscious mentation he explains as the result of some subconscious experience on Ibsen's part. It is a question in my mind as to whether Professor Olson has not here been led astray into interpreting according to a pre-conceived theory that which may readily be explained as a natural consequence of Peer's mental attitude. The question should first be answered, it seems to me, as to whether this experience on Peer's part may not be a perfectly natural one,

i.e., one which may readily be explained without recourse to the theory of a spontaneous upsurging from the subconscious depths of the poet's mind. Personally I do not find this passage in question "startling in the highest degree," as Professor Olson feels it to be; on the contrary, the passage seems to me to reveal a natural trait in Peer Gynt's character, and therefore there seems to me no reason for explaining the passage as due to a subconscious experience on Ibsen's part.

I quote Professor Olson regarding this passage (p. 73).

"In conclusion let me mention a very slight incident in the first act of *Peer Gynt* which is startling in the highest degree.

Peer is on his way to the wedding. He meets the smith, Aslak, who banters him, and after Aslak and his company have departed, Peer soliloquizes and says, among other things:

"Kunde jeg med et slagtetag
rive dem ringagten ud af bringen!
(ser sig pludselig om.)
Hvad er det? Hvem er det, som flirer derbag?—
Hm, jeg syntes så visst—Nej, det var nok ingen."

What was it that was back of him? Peer was sure there was something. His quick and sudden turning indicates that.

Wasn't it perhaps a shadow of his better self, reminding Peer that he had better heed his own self-respect than the disrespect of others?

It is a profound touch, and *makes me feel sure that it is the result of a subconscious experience, in dreaming or waking, that impressed the author and led him to insert it.*¹ I suspect that few readers of *Peer Gynt* have ever noticed it."

In the first place it will be noted that Professor Olson surmises that what Peer feels in back of him is his "better self."² Altho such an assumption is certainly in accord with

¹ The italics are mine.

² It should be noted that J. Collin (*Henrik Ibsen*, p. 296) makes a similar interpretation regarding Peer's hesitation to join the throng at Hægstad: "det er kanske rettest jeg vender." Collin thinks that it is Peer's *better self* which causes this hesitation: "Was noch *Besseres* in ihm lebt, scheut sich vor dem Spott und der Verachtung, die ihm bei den Hochzeitsgästen begegnen werden." The italics are mine.

But Peer's attitude here is characteristic; he is tempted here, as elsewhere, to "go around" instead of going *thru*. How far his *better self* in this instance

the theme of the poem and would thus indicate a subtle touch of symbolism on the poet's part, this interpretation does not seem to me so natural as the following which I shall attempt to elucidate, viz., that the sneers which Peer hears behind his back are merely the natural result of his own super-sensitiveness. Ibsen's proclivity to self-chastisement, such as is represented, for instance, by the figure of the *Boyg* or of *den fremmede passager*,³ would seem to lend evidence to Professor Olson's interpretation. But the question is: Is it necessary to assume a *symbolical* interpretation, if this incident can be shown to be the *natural* result of Peer's character and temperament?

Lastly, in the light of his interpretation regarding Peer's "better self" Professor Olson feels convinced that this whole incident is the result of some particular subconscious experience on Ibsen's part which so impressed the poet that he was led to insert it. We may infer then that if Ibsen had not had this particular subconscious experience, the passage would not have been inserted. My contention is that the nature of this passage does not indicate that it was "inserted" because of a subconscious experience on Ibsen's part, but that on the contrary the passage naturally *fits* the situation and thus forms a *homogeneous whole* in keeping with Peer's temperament and character.

My explanation of the passage in question is simply this.

While meditating upon the contemptuous attitude of others towards him, Peer suddenly imagines that someone is *sneering behind his back*:

Hvem er det som flirer derbag?

This hallucination is due simply to his super-sensitive nature and highly wrought imagination.

provokes this tendency in Peer, seems to me an open question. Cf. H. Logeman's remarks on this passage, "A Commentary on Ibsen's *Peer Gynt*," pp. 34-35.

³ Cf. Logeman, *ibid.*, p. 278 f., who compares *den fremmede passager* to Peer's *better self*; and particularly Martin Svendsen, "Den fremmede passager i *Peer Gynt*," *Edda*, XVIII, 3, 1922, pp. 165-168, who identifies this symbolical figure with Ibsen himself.

It will be noted also that in discussing Peer's "double" or second soul, Logeman in his article "The Caprices in Henrik Ibsen's *Peer Gynt*" (*Edda*, 1917, 2, p. 260) does not refer to our passage in question as a possible "caprice" which Ibsen may have added as an afterthought.

With all his blustering bravado, Peer possesses that abnormal self-consciousness and sensitiveness characteristic of the Norwegian⁴ peasant who lives a sequestered and self-centered life. Both he and his family are in bad repute in the village. Wherever he goes, Peer is met with jibes and sneers. What wonder then that such a deep-seated impression upon his sensitive spirit should have suddenly taken on an external reality?

It should be remembered that just before meeting Aslak, as soon as Peer catches sight of the crowd swarming to the wedding, he soliloquizes upon this same subject, expressing the very same idea, viz., that the crowd is *ridiculing* him *behind his back*:

Stødt så *flirer* de bag ens ryg,
og tisker, så det tværs igennem en brænder.

That the soliloquy in question shows Peer to be laboring under the same impression as in his former soliloquy is evident from the fact that he uses the same verb *flirer* ('laugh in mockery') in both cases and repeats the idea of the cowardly attitude of laughing *behind his back*.

It will be remembered too, that Peer had already overheard some of these contemptuous remarks spoken behind his back.

En mand
(i samtalen).
Faer hans var fordrukken, og moer hans er låk.
En kone
Ja, så får en ikke undres på, at gutten blir et drog.

So deeply have these shafts of ridicule sunk into Peer's consciousness⁵ that as he stands here again soliloquizing about the mean and underhanded attitude of the crowd:

Kunde jeg med et slagtertag
rive dem ringagten ud af bringen!

⁴ Cf. Bjørnson's Thorbjørn and Arne, who were to a certain extent prototypes of Peer Gynt; cf. Chr. Collin, *Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson* II, pp. 314, ff., R. Woerner, *Henrik Ibsen*, I, p. 221, pp. 219, ff.

⁵ Cf. later on when Peer seeks a partner for the dance:

Øjekast; sylhvasse tanker og smil.
Det gnisler, som sagbladet under en fil!

That Peer's self-consciousness and super-sensitiveness were native to

he suddenly imagines someone sneering (*flirer*) behind his back, even when no one is really there. He starts as out of a dream and suddenly turns around, but finds that he is mistaken; he is still alone and has not yet joined the throng at the Hægstad farm. This experience is simply a very vivid impression, deep-seated and of long-standing, which suddenly takes on an external reality.

In this regard I agree with Professor Olson that this passage reflects the spontaneous upsurging of subconscious elements. But on whose part? Is it necessary to assume that Ibsen himself had had a certain subconscious experience which here finds a spontaneous expression? Would not Peer's hallucination be just as natural, whether or not Ibsen had had a similar subconscious experience? How far Peer's hallucination may be interpreted as a reflection of a subconscious experience on Ibsen's part seems to me an open question.

At any rate Peer's hallucination here cannot be interpreted as anything but Gyntian, and therefore there is no need of assuming that the author superimposed subconscious elements of his own upon Peer, whereby the incident may be construed as an afterthought which the author was led to insert.

It must be remembered that Peer can hardly distinguish between objective reality and subjective emotions, and especially at such moments of introspection, which latter quality is the outstanding feature of his soliloquies. It is for this reason that he at first is sure that someone is standing behind him (*jeg syntes så visst*); the hallucination is not immediately dispersed.

Ibsen himself there can be no doubt, cf., e.g., his letter to Magdalene Thoresen (Rome, Dec. 3, 1865) in which he says: "Hjemme var jeg ræd, når jeg stod inde i den klamme flok og havde følelsen af deres stygge smil bagved mig." The italics are mine. Cf. J. Collin, *Henrik Ibsen*, p. 297, also H. Logeman's "A Commentary on Ibsen's *Peer Gynt*," p. 35.

The passage quoted from this letter shows a close affinity with Peer's attitude in our passage in question:

Hvem er det, som flirer derbag?

and reveals the fact that here, as elsewhere, Ibsen invested Peer with certain characteristics of his own; cf. his letter to Peter Hansen (Dresden, Oct. 28, 1870): "Brand er mig selv i mine bedste øjeblikke,—ligeså visst som jeg ved selvanatomi har bragt for dagen mange træk både i Peer Gynt og i Stensgård."

It should be emphasized in this regard that Peer is most subject to hallucination when engaged in these introspective soliloquies in which reality and dreams are blended into one; cf. Peer's dream (Act I) about himself as Emperor of England when the clouds take on the aspect of human forms, or (Act II) his soliloquy regarding the past splendor of the Gyntian family, when he runs head-first into the mountain-side (springer fremad, men render næsen mod et bergstykke og blir liggende). At such moments his thoughts and emotions take on an external reality to him.

During both these soliloquies just mentioned, Peer is aroused from his dream by some startling incident. In the one case it is Aslak, the smith, who rudely awakens him; in the other, Peer suddenly runs into the mountain-side; and in our passage in question it is the startling expression of a deep-seated consciousness of contempt on the part of the crowd, which arouses him from his *digters-fantasi*. He is, of course, surprised that this impression does not accord with the facts, hence his exclamation: "Hm, jeg syntes så visst."

This interpretation of our passage, viz., that Peer's hallucination is the result of his own super-sensitive nature in conjunction with his highly wrought imagination (*digters-fantasi*), seems to me perfectly easy, natural and in accord with Peer's character, especially as it is portrayed in the first act. For what reason should Peer's hallucination be ascribed to a subconscious impression in the poet's mind? If Peer's hallucination were an enigmatical phenomenon requiring some kind of *deus ex machina* to produce the effect, then Professor Olson's explanation might throw light upon an otherwise inscrutable mystery; a strange, startling and inexplicable incident, added as an afterthought, might then be shown as due to some particular subconscious experience on the poet's part.⁶ But we

⁶ That is to say: If Peer's hallucination could not be readily explained as due to his native inability to distinguish between subjective impressions and external reality, we might then explain this incident as due to an upsurging in Ibsen's mind of subconscious elements, such as, for instance, that resentful and nervously sensitive attitude towards the Norwegian public which he describes in his letter to Magdalene Thoresen (quoted in foot note 5). This mood upon the poet's part is also noted by L. Dietrichson (*Svundne Tider* I, p. 366) who quotes Ibsen to the effect that whenever anyone walked behind

are here confronted with a peculiarly Gyntian characteristic, viz., the inability to distinguish between subjective impressions and external reality. When we realize Peer's super-sensitive nature and the situation at hand (i.e., the anticipation of the taunts and jibes of the crowd), his hallucination seems all the more natural. This incident might have occurred just as well if Ibsen had *not* been writing under the flow of spontaneous inspiration, because of the fact that Peer is here "true to himself" (i.e., to his own nature). So far as subconscious elements are concerned, it is a mere arbitrary assumption to conclude⁷ that this incident reveals a subconscious experience on Ibsen's part, but there is every reason to believe, I think, that Peer's hallucination is due to a subconscious experience of his own, i.e., the deep-seated impression of the contemptuous attitude of others towards him. To be sure, Peer represents here a reflection of Ibsen's own nature but the hallucination is perfectly natural to Peer *whether Ibsen himself ever suffered a similar illusion* (cf. Dietrichson, *Svundne Tider* I, p. 366) or not. It seems to me, therefore, that Professor Olsen has gone out of his way to explain that which is near at hand.

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him (Ibsen), Ibsen thought this person would put a knife into his (Ibsen's) back: "Jeg (Ibsen) troede altid, naar der gik et Menneske bag mig at han vilde stikke mig en Kniv i Ryggen." Cf. H. Logeman's "A Commentary on Henrik Ibsen's *Peer Gynt*," p. 35.

⁷ Cf. Professor Olson's conclusion: "It is a profound touch, and *makes me feel sure* that it is the result of subconscious experience, in dreaming or waking, that impressed the author and led him to insert it." The italics are mine.

REVIEWS

Gustav Indrebø: *Stadnamni i ei Fjellbygd (Haukedalen, Fyrde i Sunnfjord). Ei oversyn. Maal og Minne*, 1921, 3 og 4 hefte. Pp. 113-210.

During vacation sojourns in the mountain settlement of Haukedalen, Fyrde Parish, Sunnfjord, in 1916 and 1917, the author took occasion to write down as many names of places as he was able to gather together, and such facts about them as he could learn. He makes no claim to completeness for the list that was the result; modestly he says he intends it merely to be suggestive for others who may wish to undertake similar tasks. But he has nevertheless secured a body of 2300 names in a settlement of only $2\frac{1}{4}$ Norwegian miles (16 American miles) in length. In the study of the names of places the following classification has become customary in Norway: 1, names of dwelling places, 2, 'culture-names,' and 3, nature-names. In the list before us the presentation deals with names of all three classes in the settlement investigated. Even so the list is a large one, surprisingly large for a settlement no larger than this. The very list is an object lesson: what a tremendous mass of material of this kind still remains ungarnered, taking the country as a whole. We may indeed say that even with the fundamental work of Oluf Rygh, *Norske Gaardnavne* (a work with which the scientific study of names of places in the Scandinavian North began)¹ the work has but fairly begun. Rygh's work was a classification of the names of the estates, the dwelling-steads, with an introduction on the methodology of such study.² But of equal importance historically are the so-called culture-names, those names of other places in the communities that are connected with the life and the activities, the work and the play, of the people, places which in one way or another are due to the work of man, as roads and paths and bridges, fishing places, landing places, market places, feeding places for the cattle, play-grounds, fields, meadows, grazing lands, wells, mines, etc. And of very special interest, even if perhaps not so important historically as a class, are the nature names, of which I shall speak below. So far as I know Indrebø's material is the completest yet published for any one settlement in Norway.

Haukedalen is a rather isolated region in southern Sunnfjord. On the West it borders directly on Viksdalen in Gaular Parish of Sunnfjord; but on the North, mountains separate it from the nearest inhabited regions, Holsa and Jølster, while on the East there is the Jostedal Glacier; on the South it is separated from Sogn by broad mountain tracts. Of old roads connecting it with the rest of that region there are few or none. One should expect that which is old to maintain itself pretty well still in such a locality. There are eight estates and a total of thirty seven farms (*bruk*). In 1910 the inhabitants numbered 261. It is therefore very sparsely settled.

¹ See Jöran Sahlgren, *Namn och Bygd*, VII, p. 86.

² This was published in 1898.

The author gives first a discussion of the value and the methods of place-name study. Under the heading: "What is it that receives names?" he here summarizes this from his observation in a mountain settlement, and within the class: nature-names. Anyone who has spent some time in a mountain settlement of Western Norway and has taken the trouble to make some inquiries, will know how typical this particular case is,—and it would be very similar in most mountain districts in Europe, I have no doubt. One must look for a name for every fjord, or bay, or bend or sound; every 'water,' or lake, will have one, every tarn, or pool, may have one; rivers and waterfalls of course, but also every brook and creek, marsh, and bog, bottom and hollow, may have its name. Further peninsulas, land points, isles, holms, skerries, meadows, moors, flatlands, natural lanes, clefts, crevasses, caves, caverns, big rocks, rocky places, crags, ridges, rock-walls, mountain-sides, mountain-tops, knolls, hills, heights, slopes, ledges, declivities, gravel-banks, sand-banks, and many more. But not everything gets a name, of course. A name is an individualizing symbol and the fact that a thing has gotten a name shows that to the observation of the people in the region the thing has presented itself as striking in one way or another, it has an individuality of its own. In two different places a narrow opening in the forest through which the light shines from the other side has been called *Blikane*, plural of *blik*, 'penetrating light, illumination, a flashing through of light'; in one of these the singular *Bliket*, 'the flash of light, the flash' is used. In one place there is a crag that is washed by the current and slopes down considerably; the water beats under it and in stormy weather it makes a great deal of noise. This place is called *Karstadhøna*, 'The Hen of Karstad.' Elsewhere two stones on top of one another are called *Gyrvakjærringi*, 'The Old Wife of Gyrvi'; from a certain spot at one of the sæters it looks like a human being. Elsewhere a door-shaped rock up in the uninhabited tract is called *Bjørnadrøi*, 'The Door of the Bears'; again there is *Trollommen*, 'The Oven of the Goblins.' Of course many nature-names are connected with some happening or local legend.

Of the total number of names given, somewhat over 1900 are compounds, while a little less than 400 are of one theme or word. Of basic themes, that is such as appear uncompounded or as second component part, there are 215. Many occur only once or twice, and these are often linguistically especially interesting; but others are found numerous times, as *aaker*, 'field,' 110, *bakke* and *hang*, 'hill,' 150 and 140 times, *myr*, 'marsh,' 110, *teig*, 'meadow,' 115, *gil*, 'ravine,' 70, *skride*, 'landslip,' 85, etc. I note here the characteristic use of names of animals for many places, suggested by a certain similarity of the formation to the animal; the animals oftenest occurring are the commonest domestic animals of the region, the horse, the cow, the sheep, the goat, sometimes the hog. It will be seen above that the basic themes are mostly made up of certain words; there are 215 different themes, but most of the names are made up out of fifty of them. With the defining or qualifying first element of compounds the variety is greater, for here all the basic themes may reappear, and in addition numerous other descriptive distinguishing terms. These may often be place-names (*Dalevatnet*), or some element defining its relative situation, age, size, etc. as *Sjøbøen*, *Gamlerrinden*, *Videgilet*, etc., or words for the nature of the soil, kind of vegetation found there, etc., as *Steinakra*, *Gaddhamaren*.

But a great many of those describing appearance, color, likeness to something, are much more picturesque (*Fagredalen*, *Slettevellene*, *Blaanipa*; cp. also, under vegetation-names: *Gulemoshamaren*, 'Yellow-Moss Crag'). Further, there are animal-names (see above), personal names, terms connected with popular belief (*Huldrehamaren*, 'the Crag of the Fairies,' *Nykkjevatnet*, 'the Lake of the Nixies'), to name only some of the defining first elements. Grammatically most are nouns, but there are often adjectives, occasionally verbs. As will also have been indicated, the great majority of the names are in the definite form, and the plural is about as frequent as the singular.

Sometimes the descriptive or defining element may itself be a compound, (as a local compound name); in such a case we will have a name of three component parts (*Syngesandskaret*).³ The law of contraction observed to operate⁴ in such cases is that, if the first component part is dissyllabic the middle component part is likely to be of one syllable; if the first part is monosyllabic, the middle part is, if possible, expanded to two syllables. Hence *Illegilet*, compounded with *rabben*, becomes *Illegilrabben*; but if the initial theme is monosyllabic the medial theme will be expanded by an *-e*, hence *Sylvberg+hola* becomes *Sylvbergehola*. This practice is of considerable linguistic interest. In the names before us I think the reason may be twofold. It is to be noted that names of the type *Fugleblomhaugen* (2+1+2) are rather prominent, 31 being listed. And it is also to be observed that names of the type *Blikholmevegen*, *Smaabakkeheidi*, (1+2+2) are also often met with. On the other hand the type *Eldhusmyri* (1+1+2) seems rather rare, and the type 2+2+2 is not now employed (see above). The two dominant types were also apparently dominant originally, and probably determined the choice of themes in most of the new formations. But it is shown on p. 178 that accent is a determining factor in some of the names, thus the rule of sequence of monosyllabic or dissyllabic themes (see above) often does not operate when the first component part has simple musical tone (monosyllabic accent), as *Blaafjellshola* (which by the law should be *Blaafjellehola*). Several examples of this are cited; on the other hand regularly *Haugsaakrehynna*. Also it is noted, p. 178, 4, that if the medial theme ends on a stress-vowel (as *bø*, *li*) there is no *e* added to it even though the first theme, too, is monosyllabic (and hence would require it), as *Kjøggrovhola*, pronounced *kjøggrovhola*; but in that case the word always gets single musical tone: *Kjøggrovhola*. If the three-theme words of this kind (i.e., whose second part ends in a stress-vowel) do not have single musical tone, the first theme will always be found to be dissyllabic, as *Instebøbakkane*. I cannot here take the space to consider further other phases of this matter. It is apparent that in the modern period it has been musical accent and rhythm that have been the determining factors in these names, (the author holds, p. 176, that it has been the only factor). It is important to observe that the middle word may appear under different forms, thus *Storebotsskardei* and *Sandbotnefjellet* (both both as *bots-* and *botne-*).

Especially to be noted are also the results of ellipsis in a group of words. This contraction is apparently limited to words of three themes, the middle

³ About 100 such are listed, pp. 176-178.

⁴ P. 176.

theme being elided, as *Sitjarmyrhaugen* > *Sitjarhaugen*. There is in one case such an unexpected combination as *kubbele*, adj., 'blocky,' and *gropt*, 'ditch,' in the name *Kubbeltegropti*; it is a ravine by the side of a rock-formation called *Kubbeleberg*. Hence the original form was *Kubbeleberggropt*. With regard to the practice in some dialects in Norway of placing the chief stress on the second component part of words with compound accent, Haukedalen, it is noted,⁵ exhibits a mixed condition, the same name may have both accents. The scope of the phenomenon was first brought to the attention of students, I believe by Amund B. Larsen in an article in *Festskrift til Professor Alf Torp*, 1913, pp. 36-45.⁶ It was shown that in southern Norway the phenomenon is relatively rare, but prevails in Tinn, Telemarken; in the North it is found much more extensively, especially north of Fjordane and Sunnmøre. For Sunnfjord the tendency would seem to be to stress the second theme, as *Brunelega*; but all such words may also be heard with the accent *Brünelega*.

As to the age of the names: some of the names of estates date from ca. the early Viking Age; that was at any rate *one* period of settlement. The names do not reveal anything about possible still earlier settlements. Names in, -*vin*, -*heimr* and -*setr* are all three lacking.

GEORGE T. FLOM

Urbana, Nov. 9, 1922.

Knut Hamsun. His Personality and His Outlook upon Life. By Josef Wiehr. *Smith College Studies in Modern Languages*, Vol. III, Nos. 1-2, 1922. 129 pp. + Chronological list of Knut Hamsun's works (1 page).

Professor Wiehr's book on Hamsun is a very good piece of work. Dr. Wiehr shows an intimate knowledge of all of Hamsun's works and is also able to tell what is known of the life of the famous Norwegian author. He gives 1860 as the year of Hamsun's birth, while most of the authorities, I think, state that he was born in 1859.

There have been two editions of Hamsun's so-called 'Samlede Verker,' but neither one of them contains everything written by the author and previously printed. Also those books that are not included in the 'Complete Works' are discussed in the extensive review of all the author's productions. The only one I miss is a small book, now out of print, on Lars Oftedal, the well known Stavanger character, who also figures so prominently in Alexander Kielland's 'St. Hans Fest.'

Wiehr's review contains copious quotations, in an excellent translation, from all the works, so that even a reader who is not familiar with Hamsun will get a very clear idea of the contents of each book and will be in position to pass judgment for himself. Most readers, I think, will agree with the critic's fair estimate of this unique figure in the literary world of the day.

'Fra det moderne Amerikas Aandsliv' was published in the spring of 1889. With this witty, but one-sided, and often unjust attack upon American

⁵ P. 184.

⁶ For the Vaagaa dialect (Gudbrandsdalen) it had been treated in Ivar Kleiven's *Segner fraa Vaagaa* (discussed by Halldan Halvorsen).

culture, Wiehr says, Hamsun really made his *début* in literature. It made him known, but possessing no esthetic merit, it did not give him a literary reputation. Upon the appearance of 'Sult' (*Hunger*) in book form (1890)—a fragment had been printed in a Danish periodical two years before—Hamsun won name and fame almost over night. His success as an author was established, and from that time on, large editions of works that followed were printed and sold. Many of his works have been translated into foreign languages, and his popularity especially among Slav nations, the Russians and Servians, is very remarkable.

Mr. Wiehr divides Hamsun's life-work into three periods. The first extends to and includes 'Munken Vendt,' published in 1902. The typical hero of this group of works is the young man of thirty who is at odds with existence in general and with society and its standards and values in particular, and who violently rebels against existing conditions. The productions of the next ten years, which may be said to constitute the second period, are of a somewhat heterogeneous character. A change in the attitude of the author toward life becomes manifest. While not objective in the strict sense of the word, the personal elements have in most of these works disappeared; no note of revolt is struck, and the lives of the main characters do not end in failure. The four novels which he produced since 1912—the third period—have the feature in common that the personal element is not brought in directly. Of 'Markens Grøde' (1917), Wiehr agrees with all other critics in saying that it is easily Hamsun's best novel. The style, as is always the case with Hamsun, is admirably adapted to the theme. He calls the translation of the title, 'The Growth of the Soil,' inadequate, and finds 'The Bounty of the Soil' more appropriate. This book, as far as I know, was the first to be translated into English. Later, six or seven additional works have been translated either in America or in England.

Wiehr does not believe that Hamsun's works will gain much popularity with the majority of American readers. 'The Growth of the Soil' is the only one, according to report, that has had any considerable circulation. He quotes former Minister Maurice F. Egan's words "that any foreign novel or drama with intense human interest, which carries with it the triumph of a moral idea, we (in America) will read with pleasure." But it is just this absence of "the triumph of a moral idea" which stands in the way of any popularity of Hamsun's works with most American readers. And his attitude toward Christianity is even more objectionable. His aversion to industrialism results from his anti-democratic spirit and from his conviction that the industrial life impairs the stamina of the people. Democracy and industrialism are highly developed in England and the United States, and this fact accounts largely for Hamsun's antipathy toward all things English and American. Even in his last work there is a passage containing a savage attack on the English.

In his analysis of several of Hamsun's works, Wiehr points to the influence of Nietzsche. He discusses very briefly the contention of various critics who maintain that Hamsun was greatly influenced, especially in regard to style, by a number of foreign authors (Dostojewsky, Mark Twain, and Bret Harte

are the ones most frequently mentioned), but no exact investigation of this question has yet been made. There is one troublesome feature to be taken into account. Hamsun's style, Mr. Wiehr agrees with practically all critics, is in its perfection the greatest charm of his works, and it is always well attuned to the theme.

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PEDAGOGICAL SECTION

BULLETIN VI, MAY, 1923

Devoted to the Interests of the Teaching of Scandinavian Languages in America

WORD STUDY IN STRINDBERG

In the preparation of a school text, giving selections from Strindberg's prose and poetry, I have had occasion to note the remarkable wealth of Strindberg's vocabulary not only in the number of words he uses but also in the happy choice he manifests. The collection embraces the prose pieces *Paul och Per*, *Jaktminnen*, *Min trädgård*, *Sankt Gotthards saga*, and *Blåvinge finner guldpudran*, the short poem *Esplanadsystemet*, and the long poem entitled *Stadsresan*. Due to the fact that the subjects deal with different phases of life both in the world of dream and fancy and in the realm of nature, the vocabulary is unusually extensive.

Whether you wish narrative or description, you have it in our author. Let me give an example of narration, which, by the way, affords an excellent drill in verb study. In *Paul och Per* we read: "Nu dånar det under hästhovarna, och man far över en bro, skogen glesnar, slätten vidgar sig, och små kullar ligga med björkhagar här och där, nu lyser ett ljus ur ett stugufönster, nu synes ett bloss ila fram, och i fjärran över slätten står morgonstjärnan och strålar så stor och skön." Incidentally in the progress of the story we get the vocabulary of the home, as in the following: "Och det långa bordet giver en ståtlig anblick, ty det finns inte en fläck så stor som en hand, där inte ett fat eller en skål står; det är uppbullat för hela julen, och all mat, som finns i huset, är framsatt; ett helt svinhuvud grinar på ett rödmålat träfat mitt i härligheter av sylta, tungor, stekar och bringor; salt fisk och torr fisk, smörbunkar och pundbullar, kakor och rån; hankestop av doftande enstäver med skummigt julöl." These examples taken at random indicate that the lessons assigned to students need not be very long in number of pages.

Turning to *Jaktminnen*, we find that our author has at his command the entire vocabulary of the hunt. "Senare kom jag

med på verklig jakt. Det gällde då hare för stövare, och skogvaktaren anförde själv drevet. Det var på eftermiddagen, hundarna släpptes på, och jag posterades vid ett öppet stående hagled. Jag begärde förgäves några inledande upplysningar om harens levnadssätt, sedvanor och särskilt, hur han förhöll sig vid harjakt. Skogvaktarn avspisade mig med den uttryckliga ordern att stå stilla, där jag stod, och bränna på, när jag såg djuret komma. Snart hördes skallet gå runt i skogen, och jag förstod, att hundarna fått opp." Idioms such as these, different as they are from the English equivalents, can only be learned by frequent drills in the nature of conversational exercises.

Min trädgård contains a vocabulary all its own, as is indicated by the following: "Sedan jag sett om mina höstplanteringar av fruktträd, bärbuskar, syrener och jasminer, går jag till verket med frösådden. Persilja har jag under granris stående från i fjol, men jag måste så ny till eftersommaren och nästa år. Nu äro persilja och dill mycket tröga växter, och därför stöper jag fröet i vatten och några droppar saltsyra, varav jag vinner ända till fjorton dagar, då dessa sengångare eljest kunna ligga sex veckor i jorden. När jag skall så, går jag först opp till ladugården bakom en knut, där ingen ser mig, och hämtar stora vattenkannan full med purin, som det heter på franska, och därmed vattnar jag min säng; därovanpå sår jag. Rädisor, persilja och spenat sår jag tjockt, emedan de många bladen ge den erforderliga skuggan att hålla fukt. Sedan sållar jag jord över fröna. På rädisorna plattar jag, emedan de i lös jord växa i krokiga vinklar och lägga sig i krumbukter. Spenaten trampar jag ner. För att nu icke fåglarna under himmelen skola komma och äta det upp och hundarna och hönsen på marken icke skola krasa det upp, lägger jag avraskat granris ovanpå men väl avraskat, ty barren skräpa och göra mögel."

The vocabulary of *Sankt Gotthards saga* and of *Blåvinge finner guldpuddran* offers an agreeable variation, as one is here carried into the realm of imagination. The poems, *Esplanad-systemet* and *Stadsresan*, on the other hand present the difficulties of language usually associated with poetry and add a considerable number of idiomatic expressions.

Suggested Categories for Vocabulary Study

Paul och Per.

Early Christmas morning—nature description, activity in the home.

The drive—horses, carriage, driver, highway.

Food and drink.

Crops.

Taxes.

Street scene in Stockholm.

Prison life and the court. Legal terms.

Sankt Gotthards sage.

Saturday evening in a little Swiss village.

Sunday morning.

The shooting match.

Boring through the mountain.

Stadsresan.

Description of Midsummer.

By steamer on Mälaren. "Mälarebåten skall avgå; ångar och röker, slår back; . . . styrmannen stuvlar sitt gods . . .; gastarna hala sin tross; kapten står redan vid ratten . . . Men på ett fördäck ombord klockarn i Årby är synlig bland gods och bland rusiga bönder."

Sunday services at the church.

Music—organ, piano.

The above categories and illustrations are indicative of the unusual richness of Strindberg's vocabulary. The study of our author will involve on the part of the student the expenditure of considerable energy, but these efforts will be rewarded by an increase in the student's vocabulary that can hardly be attained in any other way.

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ANNOUNCEMENT

An Authoritative List of Scandinavian Books

"Nordens" handböcker I. *Nordisk litteraturförteckning. Resonerande catalog över litteratur för studiet av danska, norska och svenska förhållanden samt över dansk, norsk och svensk skönlitteratur.* 1921.

This little book of 144 pages, containing three separate lists of books, one Danish, one Norwegian and one Swedish, was issued by three collaborating societies, *Föreningarna "Norden,"* with the view towards making the public in each of the three Scandinavian countries better acquainted with the literature of the other two, and through the literature with their general culture, their scientific and industrial progress, their history, and the characteristics of their people. We find in these lists the titles and prices of the important and standard works on all subjects, as far as they deal directly with the Scandinavian countries and peoples: general periodicals and encyclopedias, biographical dictionaries, comprehensive treatises and important monographs.

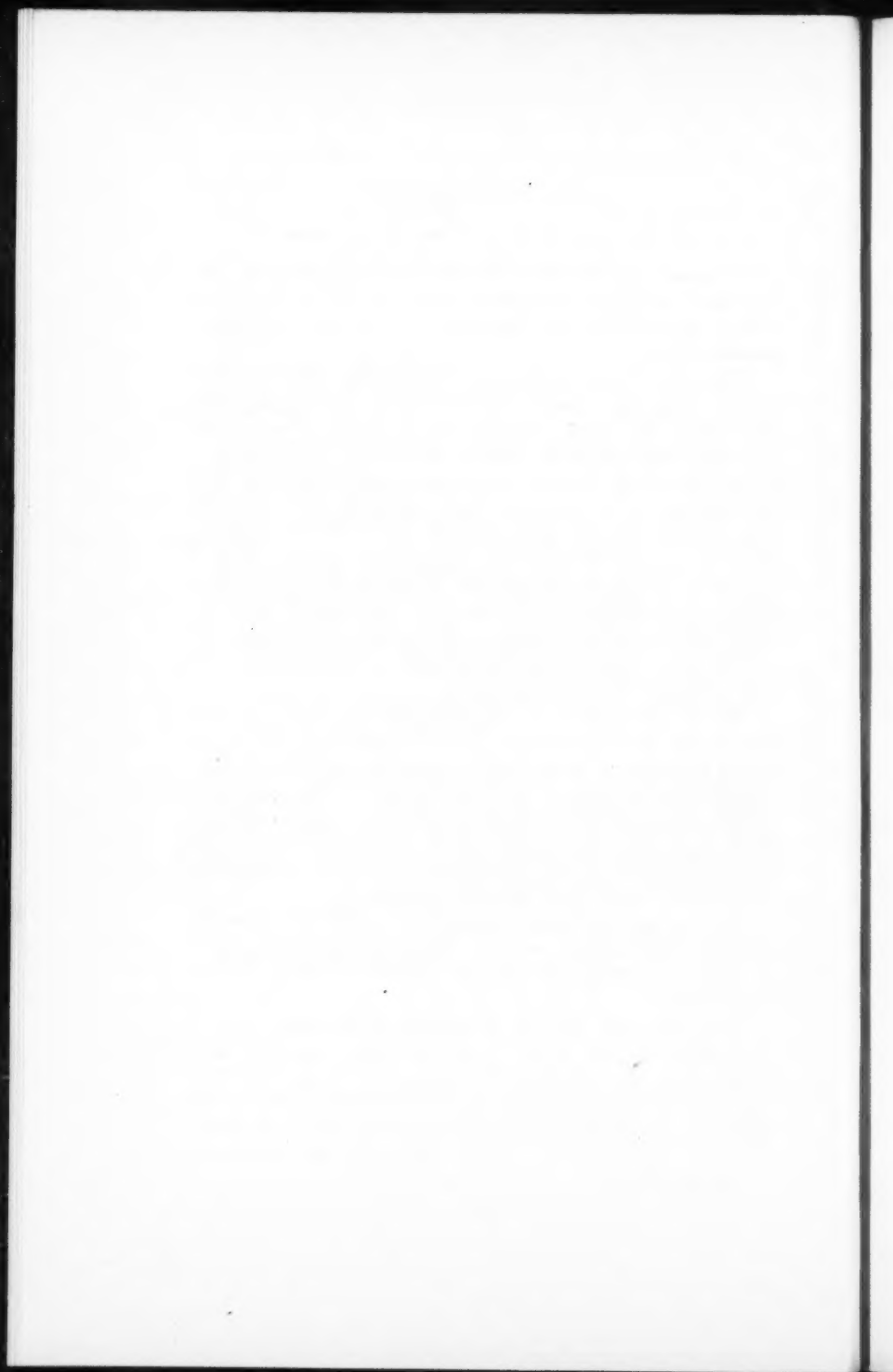
The special purpose of the lists has been kept in mind also in the divisions dealing with the belletristic literature, in that a number of works have been included just because they deal with certain aspects of life and nature. The main point of view in these divisions has been, however, to give a selection of the best and most characteristic elements of the fiction, poetry and drama in each of the three literatures. A sprinkling of titles of a lighter kind has been included.

The volume has been prepared by wellknown librarians and the preface points out that public libraries might find it of value as a guide in the selection of books of the kind represented there.

Until the new lists of Scandinavian literature now in preparation for the *A. L. A.* are available, the little book prepared by the societies "Norden" might very well serve American libraries in selecting Scandinavian books. The book may be purchased from any Scandinavian book agent.

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THE FRIÐÞJÓFSSAGA AN ORIENTAL TALE¹

I

The *Friðþjófs saga* belongs to the *Fornaldarsögur*, i.e. the "Sagas of Antiquity." These are tales which were brought to book later than the classic family sagas, often loose in style, meagre in vocabulary, and improbable in content. They are usually tales of viking adventure and purport to relate occurrences prior to the discovery of Iceland. The *Friðþjófs saga* is one of the best of this group. It was written in Iceland, probably a little before 1300. There are two groups of manuscripts, and since the account of them given in Larsson's Copenhagen edition² no one has doubted that the briefer group is the elder. Accordingly it is used as the basis of this study. None of these manuscripts, however, represents the original, and we have no guarantee that additional material to be found in the longer version may not approximate survivals from the original. There is also a set of *rímur*, dance ballads, based on the text, but they do not concern us, since they contain nothing of importance that is not in one of the texts of the saga.³

The popularity of this saga in modern times, as witnessed by the numerous translations, is probably due not so much to its content as to the fact that it suggested to Bishop Tegnér his noble poem, *Frithiofs saga* (1820-25). The two, however, have little besides the title and a few situations in common. The Icelandic saga has been popularly regarded as a typical Scandinavian or Germanic product, though scholars have noted that it differs in some essential respects from the rest of the sagas.⁴

¹ Since this article treats a matter of interest to others than northernists, it includes details that are superfluous to the specialist in Old Scandinavian Literature.

² *Sagan och Rimorna om Friðþjófr hinn frækni*. København, 1893.

³ Larsson (*Friðþjófs saga hins frækni*, Halle, 1901, p. XIII), believes that the *rímur* are based on the briefer version, and that the longer version is based both on the shorter version and the *rímur*. Wenz (*Die Friðþjófs saga*, Halle, 1914, p. XXIff.) agrees, with certain emendations.

⁴ Falk in *Arkiv for nordisk filologi*, VI (1890), 88ff.

A few years ago I twice had occasion to read the entire group of the *Fornaldarsögur* consecutively. When I came a second time to the *Friðhjófssaga* I found myself disliking it, and in surprise I began to ask myself the reason for this impression. I soon realized that it was because I had so accustomed myself to the spirit of the other sagas that the ethical views and the theme of the *Friðhjófssaga*, which were in direct violation of their standards, were repugnant to me. My next question was: Did the Icelanders of the late thirteenth and following centuries, who read and copied the *Fornaldarsögur*, enjoy the *Friðhjófssaga*? Such popularity can be measured by the influence exerted on later sagas and by the number of manuscript copies. The latter is not, of course, an infallible sign, owing to the many accidents which condition the preservation of a manuscript. But a popular saga left a trail of literary influences behind it, just as does a novel today. Now, while numerous manuscripts of the *Friðhjófssaga* exist, the influence on other sagas is strikingly absent.⁵ It must therefore have pleased the age which composed and recorded sagas less than it did the later age which busied itself with copying manuscripts, a striking testimony to the lowering of standards that the following centuries of commercial oppression brought to Iceland.

I shall now tell in greatly condensed form the story of the *Friðhjófssaga*⁶ and point out its unscandinavian characteristics.

Beli,⁷ King of Sogn in Norway, and Þorstein, his landwarden, are fast friends. When they come to die, each recommends that his sons maintain the friendship of the fathers,

⁵ A trace of influence is found in the *Þorsteinssaga Vákingssonar* and the *Gautrekssaga*. Boer thinks that a part of a stanza in the *Orvar Odds* saga is based on a stanza in the *Friðhjófssaga*, but this is not necessarily due to the influence of the saga. The passage is only a tag of verse, a thing that might be quoted far and wide apart from the saga. There is also a slight influence on the *Víglundarsaga*, an Icelandic historical novel, later than the *Fornaldarsögur*.

⁶ There is an English translation of the longer version by Rasmus B. Anderson in *Viking Tales of the North*, 4th ed.; Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Co., 1901. There is another by William Morris in *Poetlore*, VI, 353.

⁷ The text used is that of Gustav Wenz, *Die Friðhjófssaga*, Halle, 1914, a critical text of the shorter version.

who are buried on opposite sides of the fjord so that they may call across to each other. Helgi and Halfdan, sons of Beli, are false and overbearing toward Friðþjóf, son of Þorstein, who is their superior in all points save birth. A franklin, Hilding, fosters Ingibjörg, daughter of Beli; and Friðþjóf spends much time at Hilding's, so that the boy and girl become foster-brother and -sister [terms which here mean about the same as playmates or chums]. Ingibjörg's hand is roughly denied Friðþjóf by her brothers on account of his inferior rank.

Old King Hring in Sweden demands the submission of Helgi and Halfdan. They prepare to resist and summon their vassal, Friðþjóf, to their aid, but he refuses. Before leaving for battle the brothers put Ingibjörg and her women for safe-keeping in Baldrshagi, a large temple containing many idols and surrounded by a high wall of pickets. It is a place of sanctuary, and "men and women should not have intercourse there."⁸ But every day in the absence of the king Friðþjóf and his men go to Baldrshagi and are well received by the women. Halfdan and Helgi submit to the demands of the king, including the exaction that they give him their sister in marriage. On their return to Sogn they are angry at the violation of Baldrshagi and the consequent disgrace, but agree to overlook it if Friðþjóf brings them the long overdue tribute from the Jarl of the Orkneys. They bind themselves to respect Friðþjóf's property in his absence, but no sooner does he leave with his foster-brothers Björn and Asmund on his ship *Ellidöi*, than the young kings burn his buildings and hire two witches to raise a storm at sea. Friðþjóf survives the storm, kills the witches, secures the tribute, returns with it and flings it into the face of Helgi, who is engaged in the worship of the gods at Baldrshagi. Friðþjóf had once exchanged rings with Ingibjörg. Hring sees his rival's ring on Ingibjörg, and asks whence she has it. She says she has inherited it, but he requires her to give it to Helgi's wife, to be restored to its original owner. Friðþjóf now sees the ring in the possession of Helgi's wife and

⁸ Wenz reads: "Men and women should not come together there." I quote MSS A² and B. Whichever reading we take, the idea of sex-tabu is obvious.

removes it violently, causing a struggle in the course of which an idol she is holding falls into the fire and is burned. At this point the longer version states that the women had anointed the gods and were baking [i.e., warming] them at the fire, and were drying them with cloths. Friðþjóf's men in the meantime stave in the bottoms of the two kings' ships, and Friðþjóf escapes in Elliði, boasting in verse of having kissed Ingibjörg at Baldrshagi.

Friðþjóf now has no home and turns viking, but he is a "verray parfit gentil" viking, and kills only other vikings and rascals, permitting franklins and merchants to fare in peace.⁹ His thoughts still turn to Ingibjörg, as they did on the journey for the tribute, and he finally decides to leave his men and seek out King Hring. He therefore wraps himself in a beggar's greatcloak and goes on his way, passing himself as a saltburner. He first meets some shepherds¹⁰ and asks them if King Hring is a mighty king. They answer: "It seems so to us, but it is plain that you are old enough to know how mighty King Hring is." He enters the royal hall and stays near the door. The king says to the queen: "A man has come into the hall." "Those are small tidings here," she answers. The king sends a lad to ask the man who he is. The messenger brings back an enigmatic answer, saying the man's name is Þjóf, "Thief," which the king evidently understands, for he recognizes Friðþjóf. The queen is amazed at the king's attention to Þjóf, for her husband insists on bringing the reluctant stranger nearer and seating him at the table between himself and the queen, whereat she becomes as red as blood. The king notes the ring on the arm of his guest and the fine clothing that has been concealed by his cloak and says: "That is a good ring, Þjóf. You must have burnt salt a long time for that." The king is exceedingly jovial towards him. Þjóf proves popular among the men and remains there in high regard all winter. The queen talks little to him.

⁹ Cp. Andrews, *Modern Philology* X, 611-612.

¹⁰ Thus in MSS A¹, A² and B. Wenz has *hirðmenn*, "henchmen, courtiers," based on A³.

Now it comes to pass that the king and queen are bidden to a feast, and the former invites Friðþjóf to accompany them. On the way he warns the king that the ice over which they are driving is not safe. Soon the sled breaks through the thin crust and Friðþjóf rescues it and its occupants. The king says: "That is a good rescue, Þjóf, and Friðþjóf the Bold could not have done better." . . . "One day the king says to Þjóf: 'Let us go out today and look about, for this is a fair landscape.' Then they go out together and come to a certain wood. The king says: 'I am getting sleepy.' Þjóf answers: 'Let us go home; that is more fitting for a man of rank.' The king answers: 'I can not do it.' Then he lies down and soon is snoring. Friðþjóf sits by him. He draws his sword and looks at it and then flings it far away. At once the king awakens and says: 'It happens now that various things came into your mind.¹¹ You are welcome here and I knew you the first evening you came.' Friðþjóf answers: 'Well and royally have you treated me, but nevertheless I shall soon go away, for before long my men will be coming to me.' The king answers: 'You must not go away so soon, for something great is in store for you.' After that they return home."

Early the next morning Friðþjóf knocks at the door of the bedchamber, announces his departure, thanks the king for his hospitality, and adds that he will remember Ingibjörg as long as he lives. The king insists that Ingibjörg get up and that the three breakfast together before Friðþjóf leaves. She objects in vain to rising so early. Hring finally offers Friðþjóf his wife and all his goods. Friðþjóf refuses to accept unless the king expects to die soon. The king says his end is near, and offers his guest the title of king in order to remove the objections of Helgi and Hafdán to his union with their sister. Friðþjóf wishes to bear only the title of jarl.

The king dies. Friðþjóf's men come, "and they drink at the same time to the inheritance from the king and to the wedding." When the bride's brothers hear these doings they gather an army. Ingibjörg assures her husband that the

¹¹ I.e. You have been experiencing a mental conflict.

strife with her brothers will not affect the tenor of their relations. In the ensuing battle Friðþjóf slays Helgi and subdues Halfdan. The couple live happily and have children to follow them. Friðþjóf endures to a good old age. So ends the tale.

Now there is much in this story that is normal to Icelandic literature. If the theme turns out to be foreign, surely the garb and the setting are that of the *Fornaldarsögur*. The two friends who wish their sons to be friends are not unknown to the North.¹² The voyage imposed upon the hero is the common quest-motive, the reward here being not a lady, but forgiveness for insult and violation. Balder and the other gods and his temple are taken from the wastebasket of a distant past, though the gods are worshipped here in a manner otherwise unrecorded in the Scandinavian North. The witchcraft encountered during the voyage is part of the stock equipment of the *Fornaldarsögur*, as are likewise many other details. The hero in disguise is not uncommon, and the impudent answer of the shepherds to his question is to be found elsewhere.¹³ All the names except Friðþjóf are from the stock-in-trade of the romancers. Hring is a name for an old king with a young wife, as witness two famous earlier instances in Northern romance: Sigurð Hring in the *Skjöldungasaga*, which has contributed to our story the incident of two brother-kings fighting in vain against an old king who requires of them their sister, and Hring in the *Hrólfs saga kraka*. Helgi and Halfdan are frequent names for kings, especially for those who play a minor part. Björn is a common name for a faithful

¹² Cp. *Þorsteinssaga Víkingssonar* (Rafn, *Fornaldarsögur Norðrlanda*, II, 408ff.), *Hrólfs saga Gautrekssonar* (Detter, *Zwei Fornaldarsögur*) Cap. 3, *Laxdælasaga* (Kalund, Halle) page 159, also the much later *Víglundarsaga* (Vigfusson, 1860).

¹³ These are all in sagas whose written form is later than ours. We can only guess as to the age and content of their oral materials. In *Þorsteinssaga Víkingssonar* (Rafn, op. cit. II, 441) the sea-cooks give such an answer to the hero in disguise. This passage is borrowed by the *Hjálmtrers saga ok Olvis* (*ibid.*, III, 207ff.) as I have shown in *Modern Philology*, VII, 207ff. In the *Orvar-Odds saga* (Boer, Halle, 1892) p. 46, the questioner is not disguised and the subject of the question replies. The history of the situation in these instances, which are very different from the one under consideration, is given by Andrews, *Modern Philology*, X, 656. Cf. *Helgakviða Hundingsbana* I, 32ff.

councillor, Asmund for the loyal companion of a young hero, Ingibjörg for a princess. Þorstein is a suitable name for a minor person. Only Beli is a bit out of its rôle, for it is usually assigned to malevolent persons. The rest of the persons are unimportant and are supplied with common names so far as they have names at all. Only Friðþjóf is unexplainable. No other person of this name is mentioned in the whole range of old Scandinavian literature, excepting a grandson later presented him by the *Gautrekssaga*, though other compounds with *Frið-* exist and others with *-þjóf*. Various explanations for this name have been given, but none seem very promising.

But theme and ethical background are exotic. Kings in old Scandinavian romance are not in the habit of giving away their wives nor of allowing former suitors to remain in their vicinity. This is in violent contrast to every sentiment of Northern epic story. Also in such tales women are endowed with character. They break conventions at times, but they do it grandly and for no light motives, and they take the consequences. In the *Völsungasaga*,¹⁴ for example, Signy weds Siggeir so that her father's word may not be broken. Siggeir kills her father and she seeks a man to take revenge. But such a man can be found only among a race of heroes. There are no other heroes like her own race of the *Völsungs*, so she disguises herself to her brother Sigmund and with him begets Sinfjötli. Sigmund and Sinfjötli kill the sons of Siggeir and Signy, set fire to Siggeir's hall to burn him alive, and urge Signy to come out of the burning hall. She comes out and says she has done all in her power to avenge herself upon her husband Siggeir and now has no more desire to live. " 'And now I am as eager to die with King Siggeir as I was loath to marry him.' She kisses Sigmund her brother and Sinfjötli, and bids them farewell and goes into the fire." But Ingibjörg has none of the grandeur of this older heroine. She is flirtatious in the early scenes and gives secret signals to let her lover know when there is no impediment to their meeting. At Hring's hall she

¹⁴ *Völsungasaga ok Ragnars saga loðbrókar*, Magnus Olsen, København, 1906-8, p. 19.

tries to conceal and evade; her tactics are far removed from those of a great lady. She is represented simply as a precious chattel, to be enjoyed, to be passed to a friend; but withal colorless.

In whatever light we consider the relations of the lovers at Baldrshagi, whether with Finnur Jónsson¹⁵ we regard them as platonic, or decide that the sagaman wishes us to understand that virtue nodded, we are in either case confronted by an instance of sex-tabu; men and women are forbidden to have intercourse here. There is no other case of a sex-tabu applied to a certain designated place in the Northern sagas,¹⁶ neither is there, so far as I can find, anything quite like this situation in the literature of northern Europe.

Nor is the kindly nobility which characterizes Hring and Friðþjóf at all typical of the Northern hero, who is not a gentle and self-sacrificing person. He hews straight through to his desire. Friðþjóf does not go back to kill Helgi and Halfdan before hunting up King Hring, an omission which disappoints Björn and apparently the sagaman. Then, too, he might have rescued only Ingibjörg and let the king drown, or he could have killed the king later and thus have won a clear field. On the contrary, he nobly renounces the lady and is about to go away for ever. He is very unnorthern. Hring is equally so. Quite without necessity he twice exposes himself to death and then gives away first his wife and later his goods. This is a contest in generosity and nobility of a sort unknown to the North.

The surrendering of a wife, the acceptance of her, the contest in generosity with its exotic nobility and renunciation—all episodes germane to the story and not accidental—are very different from Northern romantic conceptions.

¹⁵ *Den oldnorske og oldislandske Litteraturs Historie*. First ed. II. 2. 819.

¹⁶ The nearest resemblance to such a locality is Helgafell, the hill in which the spirits of the family of Þórólfr were to dwell after death. No man unwashed should look at it, neither man nor beast should be harmed there, no excrement should defile it. *Landnáma* (Kjb. 1900) 32. 1, 133.5. *Eyrbyggja* (Gering, Halle, 1897) p. 10.

II

I began to look outside the realm of the North for a source and chance led me to the Arabian Nights.¹⁷ There I found a world in which these elements, so strange to the North, were the commonplaces of the storyteller. Stories of giving away a woman are frequent, most frequent is the giving away of a slave girl. Harun al-Rashid gives away a concubine out of pity to a man who had killed his wife by mistake.¹⁸ Beautiful girls are sent as presents to obtain royal favor.¹⁹ A sultan gives a girl as a reward for a good story²⁰ or a kindness.²¹ A rich merchant gives a beautiful singing-girl to a singer as a reward for his song.²² A great man gives a slave girl to his friend or relative who admires her.²³ A rich young spendthrift says he was in the habit of presenting a musician-girl to any of his companions who was pleased with her.²⁴ A free boy and a slave girl in school together fall in love, and the girl's master marries her to the boy, an act which involves liberating her.²⁵ This uniting of lovers appeals to the Arab romancer. He tells repeatedly the story of the rich young spendthrift who loves his beautiful slave-girl. He loses his wealth and the devoted slave begs him to sell her in order to get money to maintain himself. He does so and the generous purchaser discovers their love, refrains from the woman and gives her back to her lover, usually largessing him richly.²⁶

¹⁷ *Plain and Literal Translation of the Arabian Nights Entertainments, now entitled the Book of a Thousand Nights and a Night*, by Richard R. Burton. Printed for the Burton Ethnological Society (no place nor date). The pagination corresponds with the "Benares" edition, but the six supplementary volumes are here bound and numbered as seven.

¹⁸ I. 254.

¹⁹ V. 93, 153. VII, 143.

²⁰ *Suppl.* V. 256.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 235.

²² V. 132.

²³ V. 145ff, 152.

²⁴ *Suppl.* VI. 79.

²⁵ V. 73.

²⁶ V. 69, 18-245, 245. IX. 25-32. *Suppl.* II. 151ff. Lane, *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages*, 172-6.

Even wives are given away. Harun al-Rashid had married a beautiful woman but had not gone in to her. Having on hand another romance and marriage, he divorces the former woman and presents her to the brother of his new wife just to even up the cruel buffets which fortune had dealt this excellent man.²⁷ But the romancer goes farther and pictures a noble Arab giving away his much loved cousin-wife to his friend. Attaf of Damascus entertains Ja'afar of Bagdad. The latter starts out to see the sights of the town and falls in love with a beautiful face at a casement. He becomes ill of love and the physician diagnoses his case correctly and informs the host. Ja'afar describes the house and the woman, and Attaf, heavy of heart, recognizes them as his, but he obeys the behests of friendship and quietly divorces his wife and arranges her marriage with his friend. The latter starts back to Bagdad with his new wife and at the first stop goes into her tent to lift her veil. She covers her face with her hands and tells him who she is, of her love for Attaf and of his devotion to Ja'afar. The latter's passion turns to veneration. He brings her to Bagdad, divorces her and reunites her with Attaf.²⁸

The following involve more adventure. Abu al-Hasan of Khorasan has a shop in Bagdad. A beautiful lady repeatedly

²⁷ *Suppl.* VII. 85.

²⁸ There are two versions of the story of Attaf: one in *Suppl.* VII, 167ff. from a MS of 1772, another (*ibid.*, p. 201ff.) from a MS of 1685. But there are numerous witnesses to the antiquity of the tale. It belongs to a subdivision of the Stories of Friendship which revolves about the following incidents. Two men are united in noble friendship. One falls in love with the other's wife or betrothed and is about to die of love. The generous husband or lover arranges that the lady be given to his friend, who goes away rich and happy. The former not only falls into poverty but is accused of murder. He assumes the guilt, either from generosity or a desire to die, and when about to be executed he is rescued and made happy by his friend. This type of story is found in many tales in Europe and the Orient. A simpler story of giving a wife to a friend is in the poem *De Lantfrido et Cobbone*. Here the man returns his friend's wife *sine crimine*. It is in western European MSS of the tenth or eleventh century. For bibliography and other versions, see W. Grimm, *Zfda*, XII (1865), 158ff., Mullenhof and Scherer, *Denkmäler*, 3rd ed. I. No. XXVIII and II. 121ff., Rudolf Kögel, *Gesch. d. deutschen Lit.*, I. 2. 225ff., Chauvin, *Bibliographie des Ouvrages Arabes*, VIII. 194 and IX. 16, Karl Breul, *The Cambridge Songs*, pp. 58 and 83ff.

comes and asks money of him, which he gives her. He discovers that she is the caliph's favorite concubine, a slave-woman who goes out to make purchases for the harem. He succeeds in entering the harem, and is discovered by the caliph, to whom he confesses his passion. The latter has just granted the woman her freedom and now he unites them in marriage.²⁹

There is a similar story which Burton calls the *Reeve's Tale*. A beautiful slave-girl who has been reared in the palace as a *protégée* of the caliph's chief wife goes out as stewardess to make purchases for the harem. A shop-keeper falls in love with her and she begs the caliph's wife to give her to him in marriage. The queen has the man smuggled into the harem in order to inspect him and see if he would make a suitable husband for the girl. She approves and finally the caliph gives his consent and a dowry. The marriage of course involves liberating the girl.³⁰

In the *Tale of Ghanim bin Ayyub*,³¹ Ghanim during the night sees three slaves burying a box. When they leave he digs it up and finds within it a fair lady who has been drugged. He brings her home and restores her to health. They love each other but she will not yield to his desires, as she is a concubine of Harun al-Rashid, Caliph of Bagdad. Ghanim has too great a reverence for the caliph³² to violate his concubine, even though she now relents. He learns that in the caliph's absence his jealous queen has caused the concubine to be drugged and buried, further that she also had a false grave³³ made to point out to the caliph on his return as that of his concubine. The caliph laments and wastes away until he hears two slave-girls say it is too bad that the caliph does not know that his concubine is alive and dwelling in the house of Ghanim bin Ayyub. The caliph sends out to capture Ghanim, who flees in disguise. After many trials the concubine

²⁹ Burton IX. 229. Also called the *Tale of the Money Changer of Bagdad*.

³⁰ I. 278ff.

³¹ II. 45ff.

³² Note points of contact between this story and that of *Joseph and Potiphar's Wife*, which was very popular among Persians, Arabs and Turks.

³³ For other instances of false tomb in the *Nights* see VIII. 168, 262.

tells the caliph her story and convinces him that Ghanim did not violate her. She therefore is allowed to seek her lover, who with his mother and sister is living in distress and poverty. She finds them and supplies their wants. Ghanim makes a good impression on the caliph, and the latter yields to the request of the concubine that she be freed and given to Ghanim. The tale ends with a double wedding; Ghanim and the concubine, and the caliph and Ghanim's sister.

The Story of *Ni'amah bin al-Rabi'a and Naomi his Slave-Girl*²⁴ is part of the *Tale of Kamar al-Zaman*. A man buys a slave-woman and her infant daughter on account of the latter's beauty. The owner's son, Ni'amah, is brought up with the girl as her brother. They love, are married, and the girl is given a good education. The viceroy of Cufa hears her singing, and thinking she will make a fine present for the Commander of the Faithful, he steals her and takes her to Damascus to give her to the caliph. Ni'amah starts out in search of her, comes to Damascus, disguising himself, sets up as a physician, and discovers that Naomi is in the caliph's harem. He bribes an old woman to direct him to Naomi's room, but by accident he enters the apartment of the caliph's sister. She induces him to tell his story, sends for Naomi, and when the caliph comes in his sister propounds him a hypothetical question, his answer to which commits him to restoring the lovers to each other. He generously gives Naomi to Ni'amah.

This suffices to present the story of the surrendered woman in its natural setting. What was bizarre in a Northern tale is here in harmony with its surroundings; what was repugnant to the ethical ideas of the North is here a pleasant thing. Its home is in the polygamous East, whence it once started out on its long journey.

The following have certain things in common: the story of the beloved slave returned, of which six instances are cited in the notes, that of the free boy and the slave girl in school, the *Tale of Ataf* and its many variants, that of *Abu al-Hassan of Khorasan*, the *Reeve's Tale*, the story of *Ghanim bin-Ayyub*

²⁴ IV. 1ff.

and that of *Ni'amah*. Their common theme is: a man loves a wife, concubine or slave-girl, who is finally given him by her owner. Some are united by other threads: in two a slave woman goes out to make purchases for the harem and is thus seen by the man who falls in love with her. In two a kindly woman within the harem intervenes in favor of the lover. In all the giver of the woman is distinguished for generosity. These form a group of more or less related tales. Are they represented elsewhere? Let us see.

III

Some of them have long been recognized as related to *Floire et Blancheflor*.³⁵ The entire group has in common with the Old French romance the main theme mentioned above. Besides this the *Tale of Ghanim* shares with it the false grave. The *Story of Ni'amah* shares with it the slave woman with the infant daughter of great beauty who is brought up with the hero as his sister, also the lover who gets into the wrong room in the harem.

The story of *Floire et Blancheflor*³⁶ is as follows: Floire, son of King Felix, and Blancheflor, daughter of a captured christian woman, are born on the same day and are educated together. When the king notices that the children love each other he decides to kill the girl in order to prevent his son marrying beneath his rank. But, on the advice of the queen, he sends Floire to his sister-in-law, that the boy may forget his passion. The lad falls ill of longing and his father permits him to return. Blancheflor, however, he sells to merchants, who in turn dispose of her to the Admiral of Babylon, who puts her in his guarded harem-tower. When Floire comes back a grave is shown him as hers, but he is told the truth when his sorrow drives him to try to kill himself. He decides to seek her

³⁵ Huet, *Romania*, XXVIII (1899), 348-359. Johnston, *Matske Memorial Volume*, Stanford University, 1911, pp. 125-138.

³⁶ We have the *Flóres saga ok Blankiflúr* in Icelandic, edited by Kölbing, Halle, 1896. First translated from French into Old Norwegian some time before 1319. Cp. Leach, *Angevin Britain and Scandinavia*. Cambridge, Mass. 1921. pp. 152ff. and 262.

and win her back. Disguised as a merchant, with rich wares and a goodly following, and a protecting magic ring given him by his mother, he sets out for Babylon, following the clews obtained from inns along the way. At Babylon a bridge-keeper tells him about the city, the harem-tower, and the admiral's customs. The latter changes wives every year and is about to take Blancheflor as the next one. Floire bribes the door-keeper and is carried into the tower in a basket of flowers and by mistake gets into the room of Blancheflor's confidante. The admiral finds the lovers in Blancheflor's bed. They are condemned to the flames and each tries to force the helpful magic ring upon the other. This generosity is noticed by a duke who reports it, and the admiral is so touched that he no longer wishes to burn them but determines to slay them with the sword. A bishop induces him to forgive them. He knights Floire, weds him to Blancheflor, and himself marries her confidante. Floire learns that his father is dead, goes home to take over the kingdom, and at the request of his wife, is baptized.

The *Tale of Ghanim*, *Floire et Blancheflor*, and the *Friðþjófs-saga* have this in common: the generosity of the person giving the lover his maiden is brought about by his becoming convinced of the nobility of the lover, in the first by the assurances of the concubine, in the second by the test of the ring and in the third by the tests of the sled and the sword. But a special variation of the main theme unites *Floire et Blancheflor* more closely to the *Friðþjófs-saga* than to any of the above-mentioned Arabic tales; in both the boy and girl who have grown up together and love each other are separated by their relatives on account of difference of rank.

To this group also belongs *Aucassin et Nicolette*. Suchier, Gaston Paris and Du Méril agree that it is the same story as that in *Floire et Blancheflor*.³⁷ Paris³⁸ says of the latter that "It is of oriental origin and probably reached us through the intermediation of the Moors of Spain"; and of the former that "The basis of the story is the same as of *Floire et Blanche-*

³⁷ *Romania*, VIII. 291.

³⁸ *Mediaeval French Lit.* London, 1903, pp. 71 and 73.

flor, but the story has been considerably transformed in passing from mouth to mouth." As English translations are available its story will be told briefly.³⁹ Aucassin, son of a count, loves Nicolette, a captive maiden of pagan stock, but his father refuses him permission to wed her and causes her owner to imprison her. The count gets into difficulties with a warlike neighbor and promises his son speech with Nicolette if he will help against the enemy. But the count fails to keep his word and Aucassin refuses further help, angers his father, and is imprisoned. Nicolette escapes, speaks with her lover below his window, and crosses the moat into the forest. Her lover is released to join in the war, but comes to the wood and finds her. They escape to sea, are captured by pagans from Carthage and carried away on different ships. He is shipwrecked on his own shores and finds that his parents are dead and that he is now the count. She is carried to Carthage, where it appears that she is daughter to the king. Her father is about to marry her to a neighbouring sultan when she escapes in the guise of a minstrel and goes back to her lover. They live happily ever after.

For the sake of completeness we shall mention two other versions of the tale. The poem of *Florent et Clarisse*⁴⁰ is contained in the fourteenth century continuation of *Huon of Bordeaux*. It has been regarded as an imitation of *Aucassin et Nicolette*, but in view of the widespread dissemination of the theme it might be well to reconsider the question in the light of all known versions of the matter.

Clarisse, daughter of Huon of Bordeaux and Esclarmonde, is stolen by the traitor Brohart, who is killed by robbers who in turn kill each other. The Saracen king of Granada finds her alone on the seashore and carries her off captive in his ship. She is brought to the court of the king of Arragon whose son Florent already loves her. His father is deaf to the lad's entreaties to have her to wife, but agrees on condition that his

³⁹ Andrew Lang, Crowell. New York, and Mason in *Everyman's Library*.

⁴⁰ Ed. by E. Stengel in *Ausgaben und Abhandlungen aus d. Geb. d. rom. Phil.*, LXXXIII.

son defeat the king of Navarre. The father fails to keep his word and plans to kill Clarisse. She is rescued and is then shut up in a tower with Florent. They escape over the sea, are caught by the Saracens, freed by the aid of the castellan, and are finally united in marriage at the home of her father, Huon of Bordeaux.

The *Reinalds-rímur* are a set of twelve Icelandic dance ballads of the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. Jón Þorkelsson, the chief authority on this period, was inclined in 1886⁴¹ to credit the statement of Jón Olafsson of Grunnavík, made in 1644, that they "were made up in the western fjords by two beggars, a man and a woman," and to think they were based directly on *Flóres ok Blankiþúr*. When he came two years later to write a history of the literature of the period⁴² he assigned these *rímur*, tentatively at least, to Sigurðr blindi, a prolific ballad poet of whom little is known, and whose life probably overlapped the joining of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Eugen Kölbing compares the *rímur* with *Floire et Blancheflor*, and regards them as another version of the same tale.⁴³ He thinks they are based on a lost Icelandic saga which in turn is based on an Old French poem which has not come down to us.⁴⁴ Leach lists it among the Byzantine romances imported into Iceland in the fourteenth century. It is accessible to me only in Kölbing's summary, which one should see for greater detail. The events take place in Spain. The *rímur* contain practically the same story as the fore part of *Floire et Blancheflor*, but, like *Aucassin et Nicolette* and *Florent et Clarisse*, there is no false grave, no harem-tower, and no Admiral of Babylon to give the lady to her lover. He rescues her by force, in which the story differs from the above three. It seems as if Kölbing were right in his contention that it is an independent version of this tale.

⁴¹ *Arkiv for nordisk filologi*, III. 377.

⁴² *Om Digtingen paa Island i det 15. og 16. Arhundrede*. Kjb, 1888.

⁴³ *Beiträge zur vergl. Gesch. d. romant. Poesie und Prosa d. Mittelalters*. 1876. pp. 233-6.

⁴⁴*Op. cit.* p. 383.

IV

Every step we have taken abroad in search of this type of narrative has led us to the Orient, and specifically to the Arabs. To my regret, I am unable to read Arabic and am dependent on translations. But among these are to be found three more tales which belong here.

In the *Kitab el Agani*, a tenth century Arabic collection of biographies of poets, there is a story of Mourakkish the Elder,⁴⁵ who antedates the prophet Mohammed. He falls in love with his cousin Asma. While still in his youth he seeks her of her father, who refuses him until he should acquire a reputation. He visits a king, sings his praises, and is covered with rewards, but while he was away his uncle becomes financially involved and sells Asma as wife to a wealthy Arab from a distance. Mourakkish's brothers agree to say on his return that Asma is dead. They kill a ram, eat the flesh, bury the bones, and show Mourakkish the grave as Asma's tomb. He mourns over it until he falls ill. One day he overhears his little nephews, who are playing dice with the small bones of the ram, and learns the truth. He starts out to find Asma's husband, falls ill, goes into a cave after being deserted by his two followers, and is found by a shepherd who is driving his flock into the cave. The man is a slave of Asma's husband, and Mourakkish gives the shepherd his ring and induces him to drop it into the bowl of milk which the shepherd draws every night for Asma and gives to a slave girl to be taken to her. Asma recognizes the ring, sends for her husband, and together they seek out Mourakkish and bring him home with them, where he dies.

Mourakkish belongs to the tribe of the *Banu Udra*, supposed to die when they are in love, so this is expected of him from the outset. It is an Arabic poetic convention which we shall meet again.

There is a second version⁴⁶ of the tale of Mourakkish the Elder, also from the *Kitab el Agani*. Here also a rich Arab from a distance gets to wife Asma, whom her cousin Mourakkish

⁴⁵ *Journal Asiatique*. 3 serie, vol. VI. 510ff.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

has always sought, but who has been refused him on account of his poverty. The latter comes home and is informed by a youth who is scraping a bone that the husband has left with Asma. The jilted lover starts out to obtain revenge. When he catches up with the caravan, Asma, according to a pre-arranged plan, engages him in conversation and delays him until his brothers come up and force him to return. He dies of love. The reader will note that the idea of the youth scraping a bone is unmotivated, as there is no reference to a ram's bones and a false grave. The incident sounds like a dilution of the preceding story.

These tales of the two children who grow up to love each other and are separated by parents on account of difference of station, united with the false grave of *Mourakkish the Elder*, *Floire et Blancheflor* and *Ghanim bin Ayyub*, stimulated further search, which was rewarded by finding a recent article by Prof. S. Singer entitled "*Arabische und europäische Poesie im Mittelalter.*"⁴⁷ Included in this is a contribution by the author's orientalist colleague, Professor Marti, being a German translation of the *Tale of Urwa*, also from the *Kitab el Agani*. This contains a fuller version of the same type of story as the one in *Mourakkish the Elder*. Urwa was a poet of the *Banu Udra*, and lived in the seventh century. This is the most interesting of the Arabic parallels thus far found. I give the story in slightly condensed form:

There was an Islamic poet named Urwa, one of the lovesick ones, whom love kills. No poem of his is known that does not tell of Afra, the daughter of his uncle. Urwa's father dies and leaves his son to the protection of his uncle. And Afra is of like age with Urwa; they play together and are inseparable, so that each forms a great affection for the other. Thus things go on until Afra joins the women and Urwa the men. The girl's mother is not well inclined toward him; she wishes a powerful and wealthy husband for her daughter, who is well fitted for such a fate because of her unusual beauty. Then Urwa becomes anxious and beseeches God for wealth. He goes to her mother, but she will not listen to him until he accedes to

⁴⁷ *Abh. d. preuss. Akad. d. Wiss., phil. hist. Kl. 1918, No. 13.*

the bride-price which she demands, and not then until half of it is paid over to her. Then he knows that nothing will help, except payment of the price fixed. Urwa forms a plan to visit a rich cousin who lives in the city of Rai. He goes to the uncle and to the latter's wife, and informs them of his decision. They approve it and promise to do nothing in the matter of marriage until he returns.

The night before his departure he goes to Afra and sits with her, he and the maidens of his tribe, and they converse with each other until morning. Then he takes farewell of her and his tribe, saddles his she-camel, and starts off on his journey. Two friendly youths accompany him. During the whole journey he is absent-minded, so that when the youths speak to him he does not understand their words until they repeat them several times, so lost is he in his thoughts of Afra. Urwa meets his cousin and informs him of his evil situation and of his reason for coming to him. The cousin gives him gifts, equipping him with garments and presenting him with a hundred camels. Then Urwa starts home with them to his people to pay the bride-price.

In the meantime a wealthy man from Syria had already alighted at the house of Afra's parents. He sees Afra and she pleases him, so he seeks her hand from her father. The latter excuses himself and says: "I have definitely promised her to a son of a brother of mine." Then the Syrian turns to her mother and finds in her a more favorable reception for his generosity and a desire for his money. She goes to her husband and does not leave off arguing until he promises her: "If the Syrian seeks again from me I shall grant him his wish." On the following day after dinner the stranger again seeks Afra's hand and pays the bride-price. Afra is handed over to him. She however says in verse before he goes in to her: "Behold, O Urwa, the tribe hath broken the vow divine and basely played thee false." And when the evening comes her husband goes in unto her. And he stays with them three more days and then leaves with her for Syria.

Her father now goes to an old grave, freshens it up and smooths it over, and bids the tribe keep the story secret.

After some time Urwa arrives. The father tells him Afra is dead and goes out to the grave with him. And for a long time he continues to visit it and gets thin and sickens away, until a girl of the tribe comes to him and tells him the true state of affairs. Then Urwa mounts one of his camels, takes provisions and travelling money and journeys towards Syria. Arrived there he seeks the man out and informs him he is of the tribe of Aduân. The man entertains him most excellently, and Urwa remains there for some time, until they have become familiar with him. Then he says to one of the girls, "Will you not do me a favor?" and she answered, "Gladly." He says, "Then give this ring to your mistress." She replies, "Shame on you! Do you not blush because of these words?" Then he desists, but afterwards he repeats the request to her and says: "She is, by Allah, the daughter of my uncle, and each of us is dearer to the other than all other living beings. Cast this seal-ring into her bowl, and when she blames you, say to her, 'Your guest had his morning drink before you did, and perhaps he lost it.' " Then the girl has pity and does as he commands. When Afra drinks the milk she sees the ring, recognizes it and says, "Tell me truly." And the maid tells her the truth. Then when her husband comes she says to him, "Do you know who this your guest is?" He says, yes, such and such an one, of the tribe of Aduân. Then she says, "No, by Allah, rather is he Urwa, the son of my uncle." Then the Syrian sends for Urwa, rebukes him for concealing his identity, and bids him welcome. And the husband goes out and leaves him with Afra that they may visit with each other. He commands a servant-woman to overhear their talk and report to him what she learns from them. And when the two are alone they lament over what they have suffered during their separation. And the lamentation is long and Urwa sheds hot tears. Then she offers him wine and bids him drink. But he says: "Nothing forbidden has entered within me in my lifetime. And if I regarded as permissible what is forbidden, I should consider it as permitted with you, for you are my happiness in this world and you have disappeared from me. This noble man has indeed behaved handsomely and well, but

I fear him since he knows my state, and behold I know that I am journeying toward my own fate." Then she weeps and he likewise, and he goes away. And when her husband comes the servant-woman tells him what has passed. Then he calls to Urwa and says to him: "O my brother, fear God for thy soul's sake. I know thy tale and know that thou shalt go to destruction if thou leavest. And in the name of God I shall never hinder thee from being with her, and if thou wiltst, I shall even separate myself from her and give her to thee."

Professor Singer remarks that this should be the end of the story, but the poet is a member of the tribe of the Udra, who are expected to die when they love, so he rejects the generous offer and dies, as does Afra;⁴⁸ a conclusion that is tagged on.

That the two stories about Mourakkish the Elder and the *Tale of Urwa* are variants of the same theme is evident. That they share certain elements with the tales cited from the Arabian Nights is also clear. Of these the *Tale of Ghanim* and the *Story of Ni'amah* seem to be the closest. The correctness of Professor Singer's statement is evident, namely, that *Floire et Blancheflor* is the *Tale of Urwa* in a new setting, with the addition of the tower of the Admiral of Babylon, which is found in the Arabian Nights. This implies also the relation of the *Tale of Urwa* to *Aucassin et Nicolette*, *Florent et Clarisse* and the *Reinalds-rímur*.

It now remains to compare these Arabic tales, and particularly the most complete, the *Tale of Urwa*, with the *Friðþjófs saga*. Both tell the following tale:

A boy and a girl are reared together and grow up to love each other. When grown the youth sues her relatives for her hand but is repulsed because he is inferior in condition. He goes on a journey to get property to give the relatives of the woman, is accompanied by two friendly youths, and on the journey his mind is occupied with thoughts of his beloved.

⁴⁸ There is a description of the death of Afra after her hearing of the death of Urwa, and also a second description of the death of Urwa in Macoudi. *Les Prairies d'Or, texte et traduction*, par C. Barbier de Meynard, Paris, 1873, in Vol. VII, pp. 351-355. There is a similar story of the death of lovers in "The Lovers of the Banu Uzrah" [i.e. Udra], *Nights* VII. 117.

He gets the property and comes home to find the relatives of the woman have broken their word [in one case by destroying his property, in the other by marrying her off contrary to their promise]. They marry the woman to a rich man who lives at a distance. The lover hunts out the husband, meets his shepherds (*Friðþjófssaga* and the first Mourakkish story), and makes inquiry. He presents himself to the husband in disguise (in the one case, with assumed garb and name, in the other with assumed name), and both husband and wife soon find out who he is. The wife is exceedingly careful to protect herself and to avoid suspicion. The husband treats the lover with the greatest hospitality, informs him that he recognizes him and allows him every opportunity to be with his wife. He tests his guest carefully, and on finding him to be thoroughly noble, himself rises to the highest act of renunciation and offers to give his wife to the guest.

While these resemblances contain some that may be due to chance, still they contain the very bones and marrow of the story. They are so detailed and organic as to exclude the possibility of independent origin. The *Friðþjófssaga* is therefore a member of this widespread group of tales.

It is possible to divide this group into three subgroups, excluding for the time being the *Attaf* and its congeners, which form a group by themselves and are related to the other stories of friendship. In the tales from the Arabian Nights the hand of fate either separates or holds apart the lovers. In the French group, *Floire et Blancheflor*, *Aucassin et Nicolette*, *Florent et Clarisse*, and the *Reinalds-rímur*, which presumably have a French ancestry, the lovers are separated by the parents of the youth. In the two *Tales of Mourakkish*, the *Tale of Urwa*, and the *Friðþjófssaga* the lovers are separated by the relatives of the maiden. It would also be possible to point out still further resemblances within each of these groups.

There are also special likenesses between *Floire et Blancheflor*, *Ghanim bin Ayyub* and *Ni'amah*, caused by the presence therein of the tower and its lord. The ring appears in the first Mourakkish story and the *Tale of Urwa*, and in varying rôles in *Floire et Blancheflor*, the *Friðþjófssaga* and the *Reinalds-rímur*.

Breaking one's promised word plays a rôle in the stories about Mourakkish, the *Tale of Urwa*, *Friðþjófs saga*, *Aucassin et Nicolette*, *Florent et Clarisse*, and treachery in every instance of the false grave, which is in *Ghanim bin Ayyub*, the first story about Mourakkish, *Urwa*, and *Floire et Blancheflor*.⁴⁹

We have found more resemblances between the saga and the two old Arabic stories concerning Mourakkish and Urwa, heroes who antedate Mohammed, than with any of the European adaptations.⁵⁰

Now at last we can understand things in the saga which puzzled us before: the characterless heroine, whose only possession is beauty and who is interested only in her own safety, who tells falsehoods and lets herself be passed from hand to hand is an Oriental, the product of harem life. The kindly king who presents his high-minded rival with a woman is a noble Arab who has more at home. The contest in nobility of the two heroes is redolent of the Orient, and not at all northern. The sex-tabu at Baldershagi may have been the invention of a christian ignorant of Mohammedan customs, who was attempting to account for some reference in his original to the seclusion of women. On the other hand it may well have been in the original, for localized sex-tabu is not unknown in the East. To this day Mecca-pilgrims are forbidden sexual intercourse within a certain territory about the holy city. This tabu has existed since before the time of Mohammed. This kind of sex-tabu has therefore always been a familiar idea to the Arabs and to all Moslems.⁵¹

⁴⁹ The North knew the false grave in a different setting. See *Hervarar Saga* in two versions. S. Bugge, *Norrøne Skrifter af Sagnhistorisk Indhold*, pp. 229 and 328.

⁵⁰ Italo Pizzi attempts to trace this class of stories farther into the Orient in his article, *Le somiglianze e le relazioni tra la poesia persiana e la nostra del medio evo*, published in the *Memorie della R. Accademia delle scienze di Torino*, serie II, vol. 42. Torino. 1892. Cp. pp. 265-6. His statements require verification. The funeral in *Houmây and Houmâyoun* is not apposite. Cp. Reinhold, *Rev. de philologie française*, XIX. 158-9. Djami's *Salâmân and Absâl* is also not apposite. It is a tenuous allegory of the body and soul. Cp. *Journal asiatique*, 4 serie, vol. 16, 1850, p. 538ff.

⁵¹ Cp. W. Robertson Smith, *The Religion of the Semites*, p. 435ff. For a more ancient time see Herodotus, *History*, Book IV. cap. 64.

The burial of Þorstein and Beli so that they might call to each other across the fjord can be either Northern or Arabic. Indeed it might occur almost anywhere. There are Northern traditions that are similar⁵² and Arabic offers very close parallels. Burton, in his note to the burial of Hatim on a mountain-top says:⁵³ "I have already noticed this favorite practice of the wilder Arabs and the affecting idea that the dead may look on his kith and kin." In another passage in Burton⁵⁴ there is a reference to calling to the graves of the dead.

V

It is interesting to note how this tale of the desert has been built into a novel of viking life. As we have noted before, the names, excepting Friðþjóf, are from the regular stock in trade of Northern romances. Instead of the camel we get the ship, instead of the sands, the sea. The Arab tales usually tell of the marriage of cousins.⁵⁵ There were many reasons for this; it maintained and strengthened the bloodbond, a matter of great importance in a semi-nomad population; it enabled young people who were not strangers to marry—in a land of veiled and secluded women a matter of great advantage to both; further, it enabled a wife's relatives to exert family pressure upon the husband to prevent her being superseded by a younger wife, the most unhappy lot a woman in the East can undergo. Such a marriage promised the greatest happiness, and the parting of such youthful lovers was a tragic theme. But not so in the North; cousins could not marry in a christian land. Therefore the North turned here to its own romantic resources and inserted the old theme of prince and peasant, castle and cot, in this story—the daughter of the king and the son of his landwarden. But now that they are no longer cousins brought up in one home, how are they

⁵² Gering, in *Pauls Grundriss d. germ. Philol.* 2nd Ed. III, 256. Weinhold, *Altnordisches Leben*, p. 488ff.

⁵³ *Nights* IV. 94.

⁵⁴ *Nights*, I. 75 and note 1.

⁵⁵ E.g., *Nights*, I. 69, note 2, VI. 145, note 2, III. 77, VI. 122-3. V. 46, 137, and III. 67, where there is a sort of comic replica of Urwa.

to be brought together so intimately? This was easy; there stood ready the old institution of fostering. A glance through the kings' sagas shows that the kings usually farmed out their children to their dependents to be fostered, a thing sought by the dependents and of manifest advantage to their families. In this case the saga tells of the franklin Hilding who fostered the daughter of the king, and of the son of the king's greatest retainer, the landwarden, who was often at Hilding's, and the two children became foster-brother and -sister, which here means fast friends.

Urwa made a journey over the desert to get the bride-price from a relative. In the North relatives are more exact in keeping track of their money affairs. Society is there more individualized. Such a trip would have little sense to an Icelander, but his romances were full of quests, tasks imposed, to be rewarded by the gift of a king's daughter or by some high evidence of royal favor. So the hero was accorded a quest at sea, and in return was to be forgiven his offense against the kings. But really the journey-episode is rather dragged in by the heels, since it has lost its old motivation and its new one is not germane to the story. It is also historically false, for no minor kings collected tribute from the Orkney-jarls. But it afforded some Icelander a chance to introduce a fine bit of Northern witch-and-sea-lore, a rousing storm, a drinking bout on the Faroes; and besides it gave his audience an opportunity to hear how the returned Friðþjóf knocked out Helgi's teeth with a purse of silver; all of which was very pleasant and lent an air of reality to this outlandish tale.

But there was no actual viking life in the Arabic prototype, no "harrying," such as is expected of every hero, so the sagaman inserts a bit to satisfy his audience and turns Friðþjóf loose upon the seas to get him wealth and fame. This portion serves no purpose whatever in the development of the plot, and every detail could be paralleled over and over from other viking stories.

A ring as identification is not needed in the Northern tale, for the lady was not immured, and even a salt-carl could wander into the hall and show himself to her as she sat at meat;

so it was used in another way; the hero and heroine exchanged rings—after the latter had industriously hinted—, for so at least Friðþjóf took it.

The man who finally gives the queen away in the saga is quite different from the same man in the Arabic tales. In the *Tale of Urwa* and the stories about Mourakkish there is no hint of his being old. *Floire et Blancheflor* and all those introducing the caliph suggest a man older than the youthful lover, but not an ancient. We do not know just what form of this tale was the progenitor of the saga; if it suggested an older man, the only change was to make him a Scandinavian king, and perhaps give him a few more years. But, as we have already said, the sagaman had in his old lore two famous examples of old kings with young wives, from which he took a name for this figure. And from one of them, Sigurð Hring in the *Skjöldungasaga*, he adopted the incident of the old king with an overpowering force challenging two young brother-kings and demanding their beautiful sister in marriage.⁵⁶

The means by which the king is won to Friðþjóf are different from those of the older tales. In some a lively woman intervenes, and in one a caliph is entrapped into uttering noble sentiments from which he can not recede. In the *Tale of Ghanim* the concubine convinces the caliph of Ghanim's nobility. In the *Tale of Urwa* the husband appoints a spy who reports only good things of the rival. In the saga the first test involves a northern landscape, ice and snow, and of course this test must have been rebuilt in the North, if not invented there. The test of the sword sounds exotic and we suspect that it was in the original. There is just such a test in the

⁵⁶ Those who are interested in the sad fate of old kings in the *Fornaldarsögur* who are suitors for young women will find them as follows: *Skjöldungasaga*, preserved only in a Latin version, edited by Olrik, *Aarbøger f. nord. oldkynd. og hist.* 1894, pp. 83-164. *Hrólfs saga kraka*, Finnur Jónsson, Kjb. 1904. cap. 17. *Gautreks saga* (Ranisch, Berlin, 1900) 72, 10. Same story in *Hrólfs saga Gautreks-sonar* (Detter, Halle, 1891) 4-5. *Göngu-Hrólfs saga* (Rafn, *Fornaldarsögur Norðurlanda*, Kjb. 1829-30) III, 314. *Hjálmþers saga ok Ölvis*, (*ibid.*), III, 458. *Illugasaga Gríðarfostra*, (*ibid.*) III, 656. *Sturlaugssaga starfsama*, (*ibid.*) III, 515 and 596, where an adventurous lady specializes in old kings.

Nights, but the rascally Beduin yields to temptation and kills his sleeping benefactor.⁵⁷

Friðþjóf's unwillingness to accept Ingibjörg unless the king is about to die is a clumsy attempt to account for a noble nature accepting a great sacrifice. This awkward situation was created when the story was moved from a polygamous society, where acceptance would have been simpler, to a monogamous society.

To repeat: the bones and marrow of the *Friðþjófssaga* are still Oriental, but the fleshly covering is Northern; a tale of the Arabic desert has been changed into a viking novel. The original must have been a form of the far-flung tale of the two children who were brought up together, became lovers and were parted on account of their difference in condition, and after perils and adventures were again united. And this accounts for the exotic character of the *Friðþjófssaga*.

And now, a few words regarding the name Friðþjóf. It can be from *friðr* and *þjófr*, meaning "Peacethief." Ms A² contains a pun by King Hring which demands this meaning. It can just as well be from *friðr þjófr*, meaning "Fair Thief," for a long vowel was regularly shortened before two consonants. Vigfusson's *Icelandic-English dictionary* defines *friðr* as "fair, beautiful, handsome, chiefly of the face." We have seen that Friðþjóf is the same figure as Floire, Florent, Aucassin, etc. Now Floire and Florent mean *flower, blossoming*, i.e., something beautiful. Hugo Brunner⁵⁸ derives Aucassin from the Arabic name *al-Kasim*, in the Spanish form, *Alcazin*, an explanation which has generally been received with approval. Arabic literature and history are full of al-Kasims. One was a prince in Cordoba in the latter half of the ninth century, another was king in Granada from 1019 on. This name comes from a root which has many meanings. Hava, *Arabic-English Dictionary*, on page 597, lists under this root the verbs *qasuma*, "to be handsome faced," and *qasama*, "to divide, to distribute." A divider of the spoil might be a robber. Arabic has many tales of robber-lovers. Thus the word al-Kasim might mean

⁵⁷ *Nights*, III. 111.

⁵⁸ *Über Aucassin und Nicolette*, Halle, 1880. Cp. p. 16.

either *fróðr* or *þjófr*, and possibly some one lumped the two together in *Friðþjófr*. Perhaps some day a version of this tale may be found in the still unexplored reaches of Arabic literature which will give us an assured explanation of the name *Friðþjófr*. At any rate it may have a meaning which falls into the series of names of the heroes in the many versions of the tale.

VI

When and how did the story get to Iceland? There are many possibilities. We should remember that the Hildebrand story comes to the surface in Germany about 800 and again about seven hundred years later, changed, but the same story; that confused versions of the struggles of the Goths in southern Europe are brought to book in Iceland well nigh a thousand years after the events occurred. Time and place present few barriers. And the Scandinavians had contact with the Near East in many ways and for a long time.

While the migration of the nations was disturbing the ancient commerce between Scandinavian and Roman merchants Grecian wares⁵⁹ were coming into the North by the eastern route. Arabic and Persian merchandise⁶⁰ found the way into Scandinavia by the first half of the ninth century. Communication between the Baltic on the one hand and the Caspian and Black Seas on the other was maintained over definitely known and regularly travelled routes from the early ninth century on. The Volga route to the Caspian brought direct contact with the Persians and Arabs as well as indirect contact with lands stretching far to the east of them, possibly even with China, and the Dnjeper route to the Black Sea led to the Arabs and Greeks, to Byzantium, the great "omnium gatherum" where the entire East and West met and broke bread and made love and traded stories. The former route bore a great volume of trade from the latter part of the ninth to the latter part of the tenth century, after which the Dnjeper route

⁵⁹ *Aarbøger for nord. oldkynd. og hist.* 1892, p. 308.

⁶⁰ T. J. Arne. *La Suede et l'Orient*. Uppsala, 1914. Also *det stora Svithod*. Stockholm, 1917. pp. 1-75.

became of more importance. Over these roads the Northerners travelled in great numbers; their boats swarmed over the Caspian and Black Seas, they raided in Armenia, visited Trebizond and possibly Bagdad⁶¹ and twice placed imperial Byzantium in grave danger. Arabian historians describe their appearance and conduct with great interest.⁶² Nor were they transients only. Scandinavians early obtained a firm footing in present Finland, and by the middle of the ninth century there were merchant colonies in Novgorod and many less important cities, while farther south in Kiev a Scandinavian kingdom was established that was the ancestor of the Russian state. And they were not only merchants who came to Byzantium, for Scandinavians formed for a considerable time the bodyguard of the eastern Roman emperors. It would be strange indeed if the saga-loving Northmen did not acquire enough of Arabic or of some trade language to understand the eastern stories that were dispensed in the bazaars or were told by the women of the harems which they acquired in foreign lands.⁶³

Not alone Swedes made these journeys, but Norwegians as well, whose route to the Baltic usually lay through Jemtland and Helsingland, provinces settled by Norse colonies.

Such long and continuous contact could not but result in an interchange of spiritual goods. We have known for some years that the Scandinavians dwelling in Russia left literary monuments which were taken over into Russian popular literature.⁶⁴ Only recently has philological science turned to account the results of archaeological research and tentatively claimed

⁶¹ Arne. *La Suède et l'Orient*, p. 96.

⁶² A. C. Cook, *Journal of Eng. and Germ. Philology*. XXII (1923), p. 54ff.

⁶³ Vilhelm Thomsen. *The Relations between Ancient Russia and Scandinavia and the Origin of the Russian State*. Oxford, 1877. p. 33. Louis Leger. *Chronique dite de Nestor. Publications de l'école des langues orientales vivantes*. Paris, 1884. Note harem of greatgrandson of Rurik, pp. 64-5.

⁶⁴ Stan. Rozniecki. *Varægiske Minder i den russiske Heltedigtning*. Kjb. 1914. S. Agrell. *Fornnordiska element i den ryska folkpoesien*. In the *Yearbook of the New Society of Letters at Lund*, 1922. pp. 65-82.

that oriental materials came to Scandinavia over the Russian ways.⁶⁵

The Norse and Danes whose viking raids led them to the West and South came in great numbers against the Arabs in Spain, whom they fought twice on a large scale in the ninth century.⁶⁶ In the eleventh and twelfth centuries their pilgrims and crusaders took the same road, usually in connection with German fleets, and made landings and conducted themselves as did their heathen forbears. Overland ran the central pilgrim ways, a western one through France and an eastern one from Iceland, Norway, Denmark, Sweden, over Germany, through Italy, and thence to the Holy Land, where there were Arabic speaking christians. Ships from Limerick and Waterford, Irish towns held by vikings, made regular voyages to Moorish Spain and back.⁶⁷ Even before the end of the tenth century the Icelanders had begun to arrive in Byzantium by the way of the West, and associated themselves with the Swedes and Norwegians in the imperial Varangian guard. Nor did they cease to come in the centuries that followed. Here they found life and color, adventure, love-intrigues as told in the latter part of the *Grettissaga*, and good rewards. This was the cross roads of the eastern and western world, and they could meet here and buy wares and listen to tales that came over long ways from farthest Persia, from Arabia, Africa, from any part of the known world. But the charms of the Orient did not hold the men of Iceland, and unless untimely death overtook them they came home to marry a girl of their own folk and settle down; and so the Icelandic lad of the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth century could hear of winter nights as many tales

⁶⁵ F. R. Schröder. *Skandinavien und Orient im Mittelalter. Germanisch-Romanische Monatschrift*. VIII (1920), 204, 281. Contains bibliography of what had appeared to date. Henrik Schück. *Byzans och Norden*. pp. 41-75 in his *Kulturhistoriska skizzer*. Stockholm, 1922.

⁶⁶ P. Riant. *Expeditions et pèlerinages des Scandinaves en Terre Sainte au temps des croisades*. Paris, 1864, p. 62ff. J. C. H. R. Steenstrup. *Normannerne*. 1876ff. Vol. II. pp. 287-302.

⁶⁷ Alice Stopford Green. *The Old Irish World*. 1912. Chapters 5 and 8. Hoops. *Reallexikon der germ. Altertumskunde*. 1911-19. Vol. II, p. 43.

of the streets of Byzantium as can the American lad of this decade of the streets of Paris and London.

And not only war, commerce and travel brought contact, but learning also. In the eleventh century the chosen youth of Iceland began to go to foreign countries to study, whence they returned to occupy the highest posts in the service of the church. Some went to England, others to France, to Germany and to Italy. Throughout the twelfth century they could have found among the greatest teachers of England men who were excellent Arabic scholars, who had studied in the Moorish universities and who were teaching Arabic science and translating Arabic manuscripts.⁶⁸ Italy was in close contact with the Arabic world. France was the nearest neighbor of Moorish Spain, in the most intimate touch with all that was going on there. Arabic science overflowed into France and Icelandic students brought from thence to their northern home some of the curious arts of the Arabs.⁶⁹

And at just this time various versions of the tale we have been discussing were known in France. *Floire et Blancheflor* and *Aucassin et Nicolette* are from the latter half of the twelfth century. The original of the *Reinalds-rímur* and the prototype of *Florent et Clarisse* are too vague to deal with, but the presence of these versions indicates that various forms of the tale were floating about in France. A student may have brought the original of the *Friðþjófs saga* from France to Iceland, and there it may have been told a thousand times, until some one, following the literary fashion of the late thirteenth century, made of it this viking novel decked with verse. And this is extremely likely, for we know that this very thing happened with another tale a short time afterwards. Jón Haldórsson, a Norwegian who studied at Paris, Bologna and Salerno, was sent out to Iceland as bishop and landed there in 1323. In Iceland he told the *Klárússaga*,⁷⁰ "which he found in France written in

⁶⁸ C. H. Haskins. *English Historical Review*. XXX (1915), pp. 56-69.

⁶⁹ Thoroddsen. *Geschichte der isländischen Geographie*. 1897. Vol. I, 33ff. and 45ff.

⁷⁰ Edited by Cederschiöld. Kjb. 1879.

Latin in verse," as is recorded by the man who wrote the saga down. A great many other stories, tales of many lands which he is said to have told on various occasions were collected by his friends, and have been published in modern times.⁷¹ Why could not a like thing have happened with the *Friðþjófs-saga* a little earlier?

But however it came, the man who brought it north obtained it from a source that was close to Arabic. It is tempting to think that he got it directly from Arabic, but that is however of little account. The christian chivalric conceptions of Romance lands have had no effect on the saga, and religion plays no part in separating the lovers. The changes from a story very like that of Urwa and Afra can best be accounted for in the North itself. It may indeed have been told and retold in the North for several centuries, but fifty or seventy-five years of oral narration would be sufficient to permit the obvious traces of Oriental origin to disappear.⁷²

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⁷¹ Gering, *Islendzk Eventyre*. 2 vols. Halle, 1882-3.

⁷² My thanks are due to my colleague, Prof. Martin Sprengling, who has ever been generous of his time and of his wide knowledge of Arabic.

REVIEW

Norske Aetlesogor, av Knut Liestöl. Kristiania, Olaf Norlis Forlag, 1922'

In his recent book *Norske Aetlesogor*, Professor Liestöl is breaking new ground. The general problem toward the solution of which the author aims is as old as the study of popular tradition and folklore, namely: the dependability and historical worth of popular tradition and the laws (if any can be established) governing the fusion of fact and fiction and their development into literary compositions. The failure of scholars to reach any agreement upon this point, says Liestöl, is due to the tendency to decide the specific instance upon the basis of general impressions. "The general conclusions, the great universal theories, came before their time; they did not build upon a broad and solid foundation of detailed and specific investigations." It is such a fundamental and detailed study Professor Liestöl here undertakes; and he is turning to a field hitherto untouched—the Norwegian family saga.

The investigation is focused upon the so-called *Skraddarsoga* (*The Tailor's Saga*), from the 16th and 17th centuries, from Aaseral in Raabygdelaget. The Agder and Telemark districts are rich in family sagas: some merely a conglomeration of legends dealing with one family, and others, more closely knit stories, dealing with one generation, gaining a certain artistic unity from the central character; but the *Skraddarsoga* is the only one that carries the family history through several generations and has a unified action that binds the whole through a real plot.¹

The author gives first a geographical and historical survey of Raabygdelaget and its cultural status at the time of the development of the saga. Next follows the text of the *Skraddarsoga* as recorded by Mr. Liestöl himself on the basis of the narratives of natives of Aaseral and neighboring communities.² A brief account of the "sagamen," or story-tellers, and a careful analysis of the saga follows. For the sake of comparison several other sagas and a cursory examination of each are given. A general survey of the conclusions ends the volume.

That which makes the analysis of these sagas particularly significant is that from 1600 on the government archives give ample material for a check upon the story-tellers. In fact this may be said to be the very cause of this investigation. Usually such a check is impossible. In the study of the Iceland sagas, for example, few contemporary records are available. We have in the Norwegian family sagas a near parallel to the Iceland sagas. They are produced by the same race, they have common roots and similarity in development, and have lived approximately the same period of time before being recorded. Therefore, though the results obtained here cannot without qualifications

¹ Cf. p. 146.

² Several variants are given in an appendix.

be applied to the Iceland sagas, they may contribute much to our understanding of the latter.

The analysis is clear-cut and convincing. The author shows the whole framework of the saga to be historical. The genealogies, both of principal and of minor characters, have been accurately preserved. This is explained partly by family pride, which preserves much, and by the laws of entailment and of marriage, which make imperative an accurate knowledge of relationships.³ But the motivation of acts and the interpretation of character changes radically. "The *unhistoric* appears chiefly in whatever makes the saga full and rich in detail, which gives it life and color." The *Skraddarsoga* recounts a family's growth in power and wealth, the loss of all, and the final reestablishment. It is unified partly by the family traits of the leading characters—physical strength, superior education, aggressiveness and quarrelsomeness⁴—which run through the whole; but even more by the hoard, the "blood-money," that gives the power but also the tragedy and must be lost before the family can finally gain a permanent position. And this has led to a rich accumulation of stock legendary motifs easily singled out and identified.

The few shortcomings are of a minor character. Genealogical tables would aid the reader greatly in following the argument, and would have caused the author but slight effort. And to all those not familiar with Norwegian folkloristic studies a bibliography would be helpful. The references are given in an irritatingly inconsistent manner. We find no consistent use of abbreviations. For example, the reference p. 24 *Skar: Gamalt* is made clear only when we reach p. 40 where the same word is given *Skar: Gamalt or Saetesdalen*. On p. 41 we read, "I den fyrrnemnde ordsamling fra Robyggjelaget" etc. Why not refer to pp. 34 and 44 where the vocabulary is discussed?

Professor Liestøl's book is only the first part of a larger work planned to include the Iceland family sagas. All who perceive the possibilities opened by the present study will anxiously await the completion of the investigation, to see in how far the results can be made applicable to the far richer and more interesting Icelandic material.

HENNING LARSEN

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³ The Bogarting law forbade marriage of relatives nearer than 7th remove.

⁴ Quarrels and manslaughter are most productive saga motifs in early days. This changes, Liestøl shows, after the introduction of the law of Kristian V in 1687 when capital punishment was introduced (p. 45).

THE THIRTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF SCANDINAVIAN STUDY

The Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study met at the University of Iowa, Iowa City, on Friday and Saturday, May 4 and 5, 1923.

First Session, Friday, May 4, 2 P.M.

The meeting was called to order by the President, Professor Henning Larsen, who introduced Professor Charles Bundy Wilson of the University of Iowa. In behalf of the University Professor Wilson extended a hearty welcome to the members of the Society. He called attention to the fact that in order to be truly patriotic one should know something of other nations. The close connection between the Scandinavian languages and German and English was mentioned, and reference was made to Ibsen, Thorvaldsen, and Montelius.

The reading of papers was then begun.

1. The Romanic Sources of the *Þiðreks Saga*. By Dr. Alexander H. Krappe, Junior College of Flat River. (25 minutes.) This paper was discussed by Professors Kemp Malone, O. E. Rølvaag, Henning Larsen, and Jules Mauritzson.

2. The Cultural Elements in Björnson's *Fiskerjenten* with Special Reference to Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister*. By Professor A. M. Sturtevant, University of Kansas. (20 minutes.) Discussion by Professors O. E. Rølvaag and Henning Larsen.

3. A Forgotten Speech by August Strindberg. By Professor Jules Mauritzson, Augustana College. (15 minutes.) The paper was discussed by Professor A. M. Sturtevant.

4. Some Notes on the Wade Legends. By Mr. E. J. Bashe, University of Iowa. (15 minutes.) Discussion by Dr. A. H. Krappe, Professor Henning Larsen, and Professor Jules Mauritzson.

5. Baldr and the *Beowulf*. By Professor Kemp Malone, University of Minnesota. (15 minutes.) This paper was discussed by Professors A. H. Krappe, A. M. Sturtevant, Henning Larsen, and Jules Mauritzson.

Thereupon the chairman appointed Professors Chas. A. Williams and A. M. Sturtevant as a nomination committee, Professor O. E. Rølvaag and Mr. E. J. Bashe as a committee to audit the treasurer's report, and Professor Joseph Alexis as a committee of one on resolutions.

There were twenty present at this session.

At six-thirty the Society was entertained at dinner by Dean and Mrs. Carl E. Seashore at their home, 815 North Linn St. After the dinner the evening was spent informally in a very pleasant manner. Swedish, Norwegian, and Danish songs were sung during the course of the evening.

Second Session, Saturday, May 5, 9.30 A.M.

The business meeting was called to order by the President, Professor Henning Larsen.

The report of the Secretary-Treasurer was accepted together with the report of the Auditing Committee.

The report of the Editor was accepted.

The Society wishes to express its gratitude to the University of Iowa for the hearty welcome extended to it on the occasion of the thirteenth annual meeting, held May 4 and 5, 1923. The Society would also voice its heartfelt appreciation of the generous hospitality of Dean and Mrs. Carl E. Seashore, who entertained the Society at dinner May 4th, and to Professor and Mrs. Henning Larsen, who entertained the Executive Committee at lunch May 5th.

The Society also expresses its gratitude to the American-Scandinavian Foundation for continued co-operation and support.

The officers elected were:

President, Professor Jules Mauritzson of Augustana College.

Vice-President, Professor Kemp Malone of the University of Minnesota.

Secretary-Treasurer, Professor Joseph Alexis of the University of Nebraska.

Educational Secretary, Miss Maren Michelet of South High School, Minneapolis.

Editor of SCANDINAVIAN STUDIES AND NOTES, Professor A. M. Sturtevant of the University of Kansas.

Members of the Advisory Committee for three years: Professor C. N. Gould of the University of Chicago and Professor O. E. Rölvaag of St. Olaf College.

Reading and discussion of papers resumed:

6. The Historical Drama in Shakespeare and in Strindberg. By Professor Harry V. E. Palmlad, Phillips University, read by Professor Joseph Alexis. (20 minutes.) Discussion by Professors Jules Mauritzson, O. E. Rölvaag, Henning Larsen, Joseph Alexis, and A. M. Sturtevant.

7. Notes on the Dialect of the First Hand in *Cod. Stockh. 4*, Fol. Mbr. of the *Þiðreks Saga*. By Professor Henning Larsen, University of Iowa. (20 minutes.) The paper was discussed by Professor O. E. Rölvaag.

8. An Etymology of the Old Norse Verb *Elska*. By Professor Hermann Collitz, Johns Hopkins University, read by Professor A. M. Sturtevant. (20 minutes.) This paper was discussed by Professors Jules Mauritzson and Chas. A. Williams.

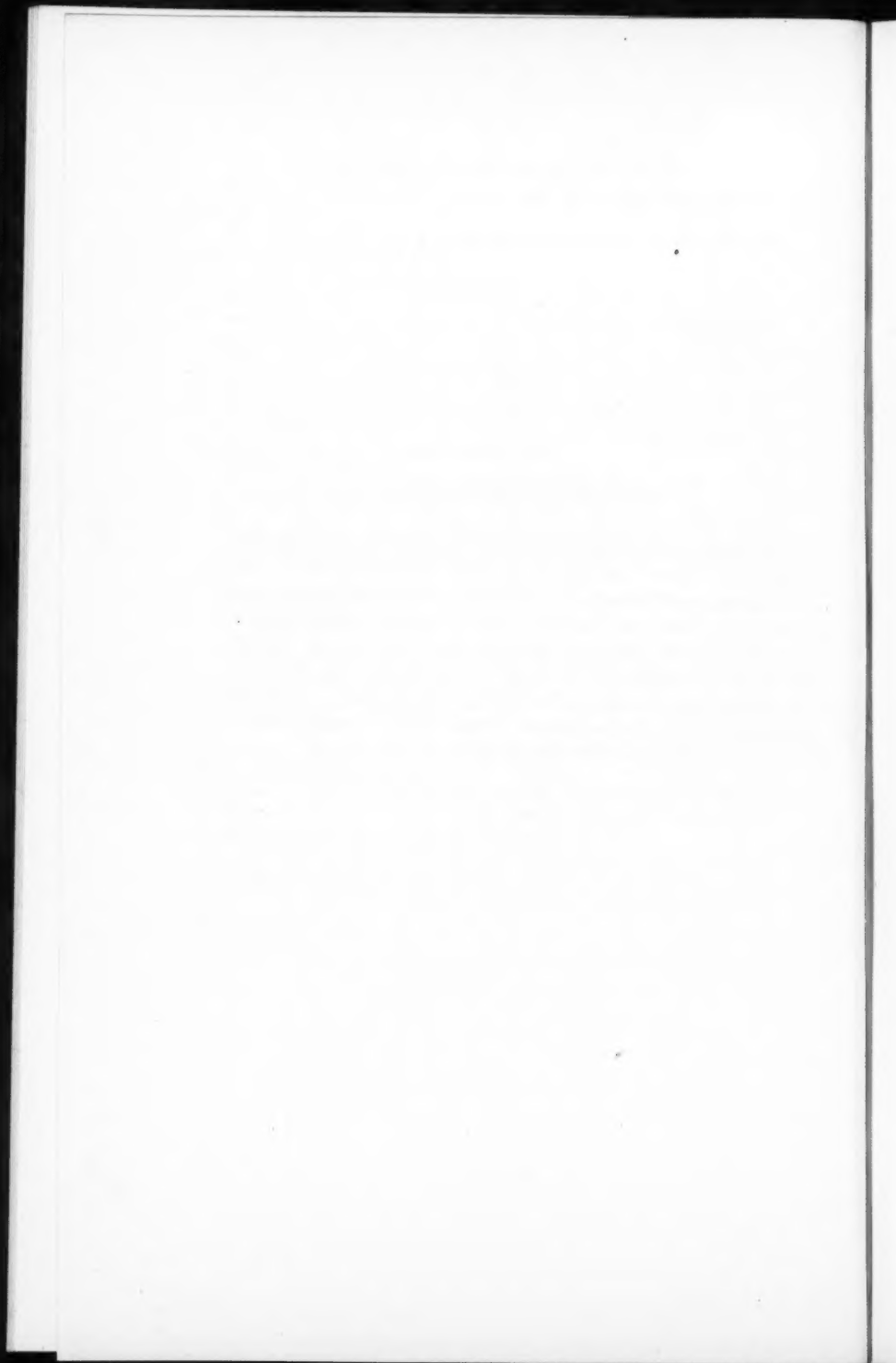
Adjournment.

JOSEPH ALEXIS, *Secretary*

ANNOUNCEMENT

There has recently been formed at Lund "The New Society of Letters" whose function is to "stimulate the study of the humanities, particularly by publishing important works and treatises." The Year Book for 1922 contains, among articles of interest to the members of our Society, one by Dr. Sigurd Agrell on "Fornnordiska Element I Den Ryska Folkpoesien." The active membership is limited but the Society is inviting contributions to its Endowment Fund from "Founder Members" who would offer the sum of \$1500 at once for all.

H. G. LEACH



THE CULTURAL ELEMENTS IN BJØRNSON'S
FISKERJÆNTEN WITH SPECIAL
REFERENCE TO GOETHE'S WILHELM
MEISTER

INTRODUCTION

Christen Collin¹ has shown how Bjørnson's *Fiskerjænten* (1867-68) reflects the author's early school day experiences at Molde and his conflict with the narrow, philistine ideals of the small country town in Western Norway. According to Collin, Bjørnson has in *Fiskerjænten* taken revenge for the typical narrow-mindedness of a Norwegian small town and for its cruel persecution of all those who do not conform to the conventional ideas of morality or of culture. Bjørnson himself had passed thru the ordeal of this sacred mediocrity and his story *Fiskerjænten* gave voice to an indignation which had at once a personal and a national significance.

While we are bound to recognize in *Fiskerjænten* the autobiographical and personal elements which the author infused into his tale, it may also be worth while to consider the question as to whether the story of the fisher-maid Petra may not also contain certain elements which reflect *Bjørnson's ideals of individual culture*; i.e., his ideals of self-development as conditioned by environment.

It seems at first blush strange that Bjørnson should have selected an ignorant fisher-maid in a remote Norwegian small town to become one of Norway's most celebrated actresses. Nor is there in her lineage any evidence of cultural attainments although her mother, Fiske-Gunlaug,² possesses those qualities

¹ Cf. *Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson*, I, 103, 106, 114-125.

² Collin points out (*ibid.*, I, 117) that Gunlaug had certain qualities of character in common with Bjørnson himself, viz., a mingling of tenderness and strength. She is, however, a type of mother of which Bjørnson was especially fond, cf., e.g., in *Mors hender* (1892). Here the mother guides her daughter thru the storm of an unsympathetic world with the same strength and tenderness as does Gunlaug. Both mothers are friends of the weak; in *Mors hender* the mother says: "Vi kvinner elsker ikke det som er højbåret Nej, det må være svakt tillike, og det må ha noget vi kan hjælpe," and in *Fiskerjænten* (ch. 1) Bjørnson says of Fiske-Gunlaug: "Hun hjalp i lekene altid de svake . . . Hun var av de naturer som blot kan elske hvad der er svakt."

of mind and character which ensure success in any undertaking. Before her education begins, Petra shows no inherent ability whatsoever; on the contrary, she is a wild, romping, artless lass, mischievous and lawless. Yet in spite of such an inheritance and youthful environment, Bjørnson finally converts her into a highly gifted artist with all the culture of her occupation.

The reason for such a transition in Petra's character is simple enough if we assume that in this tale Bjørnson was proceeding along the lines of his later tales and his dramas, viz., that he was infusing into the purely artistic reflection of Norwegian country life some of his own ethical and educational ideals. We see especially in *Det flager* (1884) Bjørnson's attempt to show how environment and training may triumph over heredity, and *Det flager* is also, like *Fiskerjænten*, a reminiscence of Bjørnson's early school days. While in his tales Bjørnson strove for the natural, many of his tales are, nevertheless, artificial in so far as he has infused into them some sort of propaganda,³ some thesis of ethical or of cultural import. In this latter category we may place *Fiskerjænten*, in that this story is not only a faithful picture of Norwegian country life but also a reflection of Bjørnson's views as to the development of the individual in relation to social environment.

ANALYSIS OF "FISKERJÆNTEN" AS A CULTURAL "NOVELLE"

That Bjørnson had from the beginning intended to develop the character Petra into an ideal cultural type is clear if we follow Petra's story step by step. Collin tells us that Petra was to a certain degree modeled after a Bergen actress, fru Lucie Wolf (født Johannessen)—i.e., "as the poet conceived this famous actress to be as a child, *if she had been born or brought up under other circumstances*."⁴ Petra, the fisher-maid, is thus transformed by Bjørnson step by step into a higher being

³ Cf. my article, "The Family in Bjørnson's Tales," *Journ. Eng. Germ. Phil.*, XVIII, 1919, pp. 607-627.

⁴ *Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson*, I, 117-118: "Hun er i nogen grad tegnet efter et bergensk model, den prægtige fru Lucie Wolf, født Johannessen,—saadan som digteren tænkte sig den berømte skuespillerinde som barn, hvis hun havde været født og opfostret under andre vilkaar."

whose consciousness of better things is first aroused by her *new* environment. I shall in the following attempt to trace this development of Petra's character and to connect it with Bjørnson's ideal of cultural life.

It will first be noted that when Ødegård, the priest's son, took Petra under his own roof and provided for her education, Bjørnson says⁵ that by this act she was "ennobled," i.e., raised to a higher social status. Ødegård's reputation and high social standing immediately gave to Petra a new social prestige which she had never known before. But the real "ennobling" act came from within, for Ødegård's benign personality and tactful instruction in Biblical literature aroused within Petra a new soul, as it were. Ødegård had exerted an influence upon her, much like that which the priest Rosmer in Ibsen's *Rosmersholm* (1886) had exerted upon the wayward Rebecca, i.e., he had created a new being, "et adelsmenneske." It was to Ødegård that Petra owed her new vision of a better life. But Petra must have been by nature extremely sensitive to higher impulses to be so thoroly transformed; so that at the outset we feel that Petra, though modeled after the character in real life, is nevertheless one of Bjørnson's own creations⁶ into which he is infusing himself and his own ideals.

How fundamental her transformation has been, is shown by the fact that when she leaves Ødegård and enters the domestic service of Ødegård's sisters, she keenly feels the loss of companionship and the cultural advantages which she had

⁵ Ch. III: "Da denne mann nedlot sig til at ta Fiskerjænten op i sin daglige omsorg, var hun adlet."

⁶ It will be noted that Ødegård in his instruction of Petra emphasizes the "call" which God laid upon the great characters in the Bible. It was after this that Petra felt the great change within herself. "Siden blev det henne," says Bjørnson (chap. II), "mere æn for at være pike, og roligere skred hennes arbejde frem, oversvævet av skiftende drømme." It is evident here that Petra's sentiments reflect Bjørnson's own youthful ambitions and struggles.

Furthermore, in his conception of the "call" Bjørnson may have been influenced by the treatment which Ibsen had made of this theme in *Kongsemnerne* (1863) where Bjørnson himself served as the model for King Haakon. *Peer Gynt*, in which Ibsen elaborated this theme, appeared in the same year (1867) in which Bjørnson began *Fiskerjænten*; cf. Bjørnson's critique of *Peer Gynt* in *Norsk Folkeblad*, Nov. 23, 1867.

enjoyed with Ødegård. "Hun gjorde som det var ordnet," says Bjørnson (chap. IV), "og fant sig ret vel deri, så længe det var nyt, men siden, og især da det blev sommer, begynte det at kjede henne; ti på denne tid havde hun siddet oppe ved skogen hele dagen, havde læst i sine bøker, dem hun nu av hjertet savnet, som hun savnet Ødegård, som hon savnet samtale." While the isolation of a young girl in a new social environment would naturally become oppressive, we are here impressed with the fact that books and social intercourse have already assumed an important and even essential role in Petra's inner life, even though she has but a short time been under Ødegård's influence. If Petra had naturally been nothing more than a romping country lass, such an influence could hardly have been lasting, to say nothing of being permanent, as it in reality was.

Like Arne, Petra is an extremely sensitive being, and alive to all artistic impulses. She is the artist in embryo. When she hears the Spanish song's float upon the evening air, she pictures herself in Spain serenaded before the open balcony (chap. IV). And after her first love experience (i.e., with Ødegård) she dreams over and over again each little incident in her relations with Ødegård. She tries to think clearly thru the chain of events which has led up to her present state of bliss but is unable to do so, because of the fantastic temper of her mind which confuses reality with dreams. "Så søt nu denne (hver enkelt erindring) var," says Bjørnson (chap. V), "måtte hun skyve den fra sig, for atter at kunne huske hvor hun slap; men straks hun husket det, var hun atter borte i det vidunderlige."

This sort of Gyntian nature, which blended the world of poetry with reality, found unique expression in Petra's first visit to the theater in Bergen. This scene, as Collin⁷ points out, reflects the profound impression which the Danish histrionic

⁷ *Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson I*, 243 f.: "Paa den troskyldige Petra virker det ganske som en hallucination eller vision. Mindre naivt og mindre fysisk overvældende, men sikkert ikke mindre dybt maa vel Bjørnson og Ibsen have følt skuespillets magt, da de kom ind til hovedstaden og i det danske theater for første gang kom under scenekunstens hypnotiserende virkning."

art must have made upon the young Bjørnson when he first came to the Norwegian capital and listened to the Danish actors. But Petra could never have reflected this impression, if Bjørnson had not already endowed her with an abnormally keen histrionic sense and imaginative faculties. These are aroused at the slightest touch, as it were, and each new experience brings her to a clearer consciousness of her own latent powers. When at the end of the play in the Bergen theatre Petra exclaims (chap. VII): "Dette er det største på jorden, dette vil jeg være," we see Petra for the first time conscious of her own destiny in life, much perhaps as the young Bjørnson may have been conscious of his own destiny in life, when he told his youthful comrades at Molde that he was going to be a poet.⁸ The story of Petra from this point on is the story of her attempts to realize this great calling under the disheartening conditions of Norwegian provincial life.

Sheltered in the quiet retreat of the Dean's family Petra rapidly progresses in her study of the drama. She becomes interested in Holberg (chap. VIII) who opens up for her new vistas of life; she reads with delight passages from *Romeo and Juliet* (chap. IX) and cleverly reproduces the style of Holberg and Oehlenschläger (chap. IX). And she herself is an actress in all her pranks and succeeds by her natural good-humor in winning over the Dean and his daughter Signe to a more charitable view of literature, even if they do not yet sanction the actor's calling. Her personality and influence are growing in proportion as she develops.

At this point in the narrative (chap. X) Bjørnson introduces a scene at the Dean's house, in which the actor's calling is discussed. Ødegård, who represents the larger and more enlightened view of religion, ably defends the stage as an expression of life and as necessary for the full development of our faculties. While Ødegård's argument clearly represents Bjørnson's own views upon dramatic art and its legitimate

⁸ Cf. Dr. Lindseth's account in *Dagbladet* (1880) quoted by Collin, *Bjørnsterne Bjørnson* I, 107: ". . . . og der erklærede Bjørnson for første gang, at han vilde være digter. Der var heller ingen af de tilstedeværende, som i ringeste mon tvilede paa, at han vilde blive det."

function in human society, it also enables the author to present his heroine Petra as the living embodiment of this art. Petra is now called upon (chap. XI) to recite some verses, which she does with profound affect upon her hearers who are thus at once unconsciously won over to her side on the question of the actor's calling. Bjørnson thus supports his own views as to the moral worth of dramatic art and at the same time introduces Petra as an actress of undoubted merit. Ødegård now fully recognizes that Petra's destiny is upon the stage and not within the narrow circle of home life and therefore he rejoices that he had broken with Petra, for otherwise her "career" would have been ruined.⁹

Petra is now launched upon her career and we meet her first in the theater at Bergen where many years before she had sat as *Fiskejænten*, an object of ridicule and contempt. She has now reached the goal of her ambition, which Bjørnson symbolizes in the closing line of his story, viz., "Så gik tæppet op."

BJØRNSON'S "FISKEJÆNTEN" AND GOETHE'S "WILHELM MEISTER"

It is clear from the above analysis that Bjørnson's *Fiskejænten* is something more than a mere reflection of Norwegian social life or of the author's views regarding dramatic art and its development in Norwegian cultural life. Furthermore, this story does not only reflect the author's own early experiences as a school-boy at Molde, it represents (to my mind at least) also an autobiographical work of the deepest spiritual significance. "*Fiskejænten*" reflects the struggle of youth to arrive at a clear apprehension of its own faculties and of its own destiny. Bjørnson himself had passed thru this struggle when he wrote *Fiskejænten* (1867-68) and was thus all the better able to infuse this element into the setting of his story.

⁹ Cf. chap. XI: "Nej, Petra; jeg har kun været en god bror; det var stor synd av mig at jeg vilde være mere; ti var det skedd, hadde hele din bane være brutt."

This attitude on Ødegård's part clearly reflects Bjørnson's sympathy with the new ideal of woman's emancipation. That a woman should have a "career" was something totally foreign to the ideals of Norwegian society in the 60's.

Thus, *Fiskerjænten* is a cultural *Novelle* of the greatest importance in the history of Norwegian literature. Here Bjørnson has treated the question of "being oneself" (*at være sig selv*), not so much from the moral and philosophical viewpoint, as Ibsen treated this theme in his *Peer Gynt*, but rather from the cultural viewpoint of the born artist, the genius who lives out his own life according to his destiny. Petra's struggle for self-expression in her calling reflects Bjørnson's own struggle for self-expression in his calling. But while the circumstances surrounding Petra's life, the milieu thru which Bjørnson spoke, are local in character, the principle for which Petra strove (i.e., self-development) is universal in its import.

Petra's striving for her higher self (i.e., her art) in a local milieu representing social conditions of the time reminds one very strikingly of Goethe's *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* (1796). Goethe's novel is, like Bjørnson's tale, a story of education and mental development. Wilhelm, like Petra, has to contend with the narrow, philistine spirit of the middle classes. Through devotion to his art he finally arrives at a clear consciousness of his destiny and through his own efforts he realizes, as does Petra, the goal of his ambition. As Goethe here infuses into *Wilhelm Meister* the personal elements of his own career, so Bjørnson in *Fiskerjænten* reflects his own struggle for self-development. Both poets present the ideal that humanity must have the full and free exercise of its faculties, and both are primarily interested in *art* as one of the final expressions of this ideal. Goethe has woven into his narrative many very significant and interesting discussions upon literature and art (cf. the discussion of *Hamlet*, Book V), and Bjørnson, it will be noted, likewise introduces into his story a most interesting discussion regarding the actor's calling (chap. X).

While it is impossible to conclude definitely that Bjørnson modeled his *Fiskerjænten* with Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister* in mind, it seems to me a possibility that Bjørnson was influenced in the conception of his theme by the parallel conception in Goethe's novel. Certain it is, at least, that Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister* exerted an enormous influence throughout the literary world, and in Germany, at least, set the standard for the story

of character development. That Bjørnson should not have read this work and appreciated the significance of its bearing upon the great question of cultural development, seems to me very unlikely, in spite of the fact that Collin in his monograph upon Bjørnson makes no mention whatsoever of Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister*.¹⁰ Even if Bjørnson had been strongly impressed with Goethe's novel, it is, to be sure, not necessary on account of an inner similarity between the two works to assume that this similarity is due to influence. But the fact is that such a receptive and responsive spirit, as Bjørnson was, could hardly have escaped the magic of a work like *Wilhelm Meister*¹¹ which had made such a profound impression upon the whole literary world. We may, therefore, with all propriety ask whether Bjørnson may not have been *stimulated*¹² in his composition of *Fiskerjenten* by the example of Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister*. However that may be, we have in *Fiskerjenten* a *Seelengeschichte* of Norway's most representative poet, even as *Wilhelm Meister* is the *Seelengeschichte* of Germany's greatest poet.

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¹⁰ In a personal conversation with Collin (in the summer of 1911) I presented to him in outline my argument as given above and he seemed to be very favorably disposed towards the idea that there may be traces of *Wilhelm Meister's* influence upon *Fiskerjenten*. At that time Collin declared his intention to give the matter personal consideration, but I have received no communication from him since.

¹¹ Collin points out (*Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson*, II, 65) that during his stay in Copenhagen (1856-57) Bjørnson was reading a great deal of German literature, especially *Goethe*, Schiller and Tieck. Collin further points out (*ibid.*, II, 132 ff.) that both Bjørnson and Ibsen owed much to Goethe and Schiller for their inspiration in the struggle for the new Norwegian culture.

Furthermore, evidence as to Goethe's influence upon Bjørnson is afforded by the latter's own statement: "Grundtvig og Goethe er mine to poler" (cf. Didrik Seip, "Da Bjørnson kjøpte Aulestad," *Bjørns. Studier*, II, p. 76, foot note 2, 1911). That Bjørnson should have mentioned Goethe along side of Grundtvig shows how highly Bjørnson regarded the German poet. We may further assume that the "two poles" between which Bjørnson gravitated represented his ideals in a two-fold character, viz., one religious (= Grundtvig) and the other cultural (= Goethe).

¹² It should be distinctly understood that I do not believe Bjørnson was indebted to Goethe for any specific details of his *Fiskerjenten*. My query has reference only to the general conception of the work as a *cultural autobiography*.

A FOLK-TALE MOTIF IN THE ÞIDREKS SAGA

In chapter 263 of the *Þidreks Saga*¹ a hunting expedition of Earl Iron is described which takes place in the Walslōnga Forest. The huntsmen find the trace of a bison, the dogs are loosened, and soon the huge animal is brought to bay. The bison defends himself well, killing a large number of the best dogs, and again takes to flight. Among the retainers of the earl there is a knight called Wandilmar, strong and tall, but extremely timid. Being very much afraid of the animal, he jumps from his horse upon seeing it and climbs up a tree. But the bison catches sight of him and pursues him to the foot of the tree. Frightened to death, the knight climbs onto the branches, but one of them breaks under him, and he falls down, alighting astride the animal. He gets hold of one of the horns; the bison, infuriated, runs away, pursued by the dogs. Knowing well that if he should fall it would mean death, Wandilmar clutches the horn with all his might, trusting that the bison will get tired in a short time. The dogs overtake him again, and as he can defend himself no longer on account of his burden, he is killed by the hunters. Then the earl, who does not doubt that Wandilmar had done this feat on purpose to help him kill the bison, praises him highly and upon coming home gives him his daughter for a wife.²

The story belongs to the theme of the lucky coward who by superior knowledge or by sheer good luck succeeds in killing some dangerous monster or monsters and as a reward for this is given the hand of the princess. This theme is best known by the tale of the *Brave Tailor* in the *Kinder-und Hausmärchen* of the Brothers Grimm.³

The stories belonging to this type may be divided into two main groups. In the first the tailor, though a coward, is a man of superior knowledge and accomplishes his tasks by making

¹ *Þidreks Saga af Bern*, ed. H. Bertelsen, København, 1905-11, Bind II, p. 134.

² Ch. 264.

³ No. 20 *Das tapfere Schneiderlein*. Bolte-Pölvka, *Anmerkungen*, I, 148 ff.; A. Aarne, *Verzeichnis der Märchentypen*, Helsinki, 1910, No. 1640.

his brain take the place of physical strength. In the second he is neither strong and valiant nor especially clever, but he is lucky and therefore in the end successful. In a large number of versions both groups are combined. While superior insight helps him to obtain the princess in marriage, good luck generally aids him in maintaining his high position.⁴

In several *märchen* the hero is asked to kill a monster which is devastating the lands of the king. In a story collected in Pomerania this monster is a wild boar. The hero, a tailor, takes to his heels when seeing it, and falls into a well. The boar, pursuing him, wounds himself mortally by rushing against an iron grating. After having made sure that his enemy is dead, the tailor comes out of the well, deals him a few additional blows and then states that it was he who killed the animal, whereupon he is given the hand of the princess.⁵

Arndt's version stands quite isolated in Europe; for if in a large number of other stories the timid tailor is aided by sheer good luck, the attending circumstances are entirely different. He is generally sent to war; his horse becomes frightened and goes off with him, thus scaring the enemy, who are evidently not more courageous than the hero. Or the tailor, wishing to stop the horse, lays hold of a tree and uproots it, at which feat the hostile army is intimidated and beats a rather hasty retreat.⁶ There exist, however, several Oriental versions which bear a closer resemblance to Arndt's tale. Thus in one of the oldest versions of the type (contained in the Chinese collection *Po-yu-king*, translated from the Sanscrit⁷), a man is frightened by a lion, climbs up a tree and drops his knife which by chance falls into the open mouth of the animal, thus killing it. The same motif has been preserved in a story forming part of the Hindoo collection called *Dharmakalpadruma*.⁸ In a modern

⁴ Motif E in Bolte-Pölvka, I, 149.

⁵ E. M. Arndt, *Märchen und Jugenderinnerungen*, München, Müller, s.d., II, 184, No. 23 *Ich bin der Ridder Unvörzagt un sla der Säwen mit enem Slag*.

⁶ Bolte-Pölvka, I, 162.

⁷ Chavannes, *Cinq cents contes et apologues extraits du Tripitaka chinois et traduits en français*, Paris, 1910-11, II, 205, No. 301; cf. Hertel, *Ber. d. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.*, 1912, p. 54.

⁸ Cf. Bolte-Pölvka, I, 161.

märchen from Cashmir, a fearful weaver drops a dagger and kills a tiger.⁹ He also is given a princess in marriage. The same incident leading to the death of the pursuing beast is found in a tale from Southern India,¹⁰ with the difference that the animal is a lioness, and in another from Ceylon, in which the hero is pursued by a tiger.¹¹ In all these versions we miss the trait of the man riding on the animal and escaping with his life unharmed and with a glorious reward. Such versions, however, are not lacking.

In an Irish story¹² the hero, a timid weaver, is sent to fight a dragon. Upon seeing the monster, he climbs up a tree. The dragon remains lying at the foot of the tree and soon falls asleep. The weaver, wishing to avail himself of this opportunity to escape, climbs down, but stumbling, falls onto the dragon in such a way as to sit astride it, laying hold of its ears. The monster, in rage, flies off with him and breaks its head against the wall of the king's palace.

In a Russian *märchen*,¹³ the hero succeeds in killing his enemy while the latter has his eyes closed. Then he tries to mount the horse of the conquered opponent, but not knowing how to go about it, he ties the horse to a tree and climbs onto the branches to let himself down on the back of the animal. The latter, frightened, runs off with the hero and the uprooted tree, thus putting to flight the hostile army, a motif which was referred to above.

In a Bulgarian tale¹⁴ the monster is a bear. Just as in the Scandinavian version, the hero takes refuge in a tree, but falls down from fear.

⁹ Steel-Temple, *Wide-awake Stories, a collection of tales told in Panjab and Kashmir*, Bombay, 1884, p. 89; cf. also E. Cosquin, *Contes populaires de Lorraine*, Paris, s. d., I, 102; Clouston, *Popular Tales and Fictions*, Edinburgh, 1887, I, 154.

¹⁰ *Natēsa Sastri, Folk-lore in Southern India*, I-III, Bombay, 1884-8, p. 104, No. 9; cf. Cosquin, *op. cit.*, II, 353-4.

¹¹ *Orientalist*, II, 1885, p. 102; cf. Cosquin, II, 354.

¹² Cosquin, I, 98.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ Sapkarev, *Sbornik ot bŭlgarski narodni umotvorenija*, vol. IX, Sofia, 1892, p. 368, No. 220.

Nor are Oriental versions of the theme lacking. In a *märchen* collected among the Avari of Mount Caucasus¹⁵ the hero climbs up a tree to escape from a dragon. There he faints and falls down astride the monster who is so frightened that he dies in consequence.

Finally, in a story from Cambodge, a man climbs up a tree in flight from a tiger. The branch breaks and the man falls on the beast, sitting on it astride. Then the animal, frightened, flees with all its might, and the story ends saying that they are still running.¹⁶

As will be seen from the foregoing pages, this variant of the tale of the *Brave Tailor* is primarily East European and Asiatic. There are traits in Arndt's version which make it probable that this feature of the tale came to Prussia from the East.¹⁷ The Irish tale quoted by Cosquin cannot very well be adduced as reliable evidence to the contrary. This tale is found in the work of the Irish novelist Lover who introduced it into one of his short stories.¹⁸ Its traditional origin is therefore very doubtful. Furthermore, it must be borne in mind that the number of variants of the *Brave Tailor* type is unusually great, the large majority having been collected in Western and Central Europe. Hence it would be extremely strange should our variant alone have escaped the attention of the folklorists of the last century, all the more so because, prepossessed with the theory of the Oriental origin of all folk-tales, they would certainly not have neglected a variant which would have so well supported this theory.

The most probable conclusion (and one which appears to be built on a safe basis) is that the episode of the *Pidreks Saga* under discussion is a variant of the *märchen* of the *Brave Tailor* which entered Scandinavia from the Slavonic and Baltic countries. It did not form part of the original version of the *Saga*,¹⁹

¹⁵ A. Schiefner, *Awarische Texte*, *Mém. Acad. St.-Petersbourg* 7. sér., t. 19, No. 6, 1873, No. 11.

¹⁶ A. Bastian, *Die Völker des östlichen Asiens*, Leipzig, 1866-71, IV, 122.

¹⁷ The prince whose daughter marries the tailor is a Lithuanian duke.

¹⁸ "Le Cheval blanc des Peppers," *Semaine des Familles*, 1861-2, p. 553.

¹⁹ F. Neumann, *Germania*, XXVII, 1882, p. 2.

but was introduced by a compiler who desired to enliven his narrative by the comical figure of the knight Wandilmar.

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REVIEWS

SOME RECENT PUBLICATIONS ON NORWEGIAN

KRINGUM MAALSKIFTET. Ved Sigurd Kolsrud. Kristiania, 1921, p. 23.
Serpent or Norsk Aarbok, 1921.

This is a clear-cut presentation, without too much illustrative detail for the general reader, of the change of language that took place in Norway in (particularly) the 16th century, and the conditions incidental to that change. I shall note especially here, the author's emphasis upon the rôle that the Reformation played in that change, and how it became an instrument for the supremacy of Danish over Norwegian in Norway at the time (p. 3). The reformation came by way of Denmark, and from the very first almost, the ministers were recruited almost exclusively from Denmark (somewhat also from Germany). A fuller examination of this phase of the change would be decidedly worth while. Professor Kolsrud shows, further, that there was during the 16th century a very definite movement in Norway in favor of giving a new form to the Norwegian literary language, and he notes the difficulties thus encountered in the political, social and other conditions, such as the influence of Danish from the Latin schools (p. 5). How the language of books and of the towns, then, in the following 250 years (to 1850), also gradually became an acknowledged standard for correct speech is then shown, pp. 17-23. But it was a form of Danish that was extensively modified by Norwegian conditions, and not the least in the pronunciation; and even this modified form was not acquired by the bulk of the population (that of the rural populations).

DANSK OG NORSK I NORGE I ELDRE TIDER. Didrik Arup Seip. 1920. 61 pages.

On the same general field, but with a much larger number of examples, is this exceedingly valuable little contribution to Norwegian linguistic history. There is first a chapter on the position of Danish and Norwegian in the 16th century, pp. 7-18; the author shows how Norwegian maintained itself as a spoken language among the upper classes, throughout the century (and long after), and that also Danes who had settled in Norway learned Norwegian. Of special interest to me is Professor Seip's interpretation of the influence that the (then Norwegian) district of Bohuslen came to occupy in a linguistic way (pp. 12-18). Through its dominant position economically and politically, and its intermediate situation linguistically, forming, as it were, a bridge between Norway and Denmark (and also with Götaland of Sweden), its influence was very great, and the author shows with some detail, the nature of this in the writers of the time, and in the dialect of Christiania. The relative position of the two languages in Norway for the 17th century (pp. 19-23), and for the 18th century (pp. 24-30) is then briefly traced; there came to be three forms of the spoken language, 1, that which was based on the book-language (that of the official class), 2, a colloquial speech (in the towns), and 3, the dialects. It is shown that the Christiania form of this Norwegianized Danish came to be recognized as the 'best' and

'most correct' even by Danish writers. Upon this point a passage that is quoted by the author on p. 29, from the Dane Wilse's *Beskrivelse over Spydeberg* is of such interest that I hope he will pardon me for quoting it entire:

"Ingen Mund-Art i Riigerne nærmer sig fuldkommen til Hoved-Sproget, som bruges i Skrift, og Udtalen er adskillig, den Kjøbenhavnske er for blødt, den Fynske for slæbende den Norske i Kjøbstæderne har for mange Norske Ord, dog er Udtalen der den netteste og ziirligste; Jeg forbigaar det Norske paa Landet samt det Sællandske og Jydske, hvoraf de sidste skurro temmelig i uvandte Øren. Det Sprog de Fornemmere i Christiania tale, er baade det netteste i Udtale og nærmer sig meest til Hoved-Sproget som bruges i Skrift."

The influence of the grammarians from 1800 is dealt with, pp. 31-56. It will be surprising, though surely correct, that this was greatest after 1814 (or rather especially after about 1820). But this has, of course, nothing directly to do with the fact of political separation from Denmark in 1814; the effort for linguistic unity on the part of grammarians in Norway, ca. 1820-60, has particularly other reasons; only indirectly did the political change have any bearing. I should like to see from the author even a more detailed account of the grammars of 1800-1860 from this point of view (purism, and the effort to check the incoming native influence on dialect words, etc.).

RETTSKRIVNING OG SPROG. Ved Ivar Alnæs. *Ugitt av Bymålslaget*. Kristiania, 1919, p. 19.

This little pamphlet is a defence of the Norwegian linguistic reform of 1917, and an account of the various proposals that preceded it. Incidentally it shows that the sweeping and very radical reform of the orthography, and some matters of inflections, there embodied, and which many have condemned as a Landsmaal proposition, or as a complete yielding to the Landsmaal, in reality originally came from a committee of Riksmåal men. The reform of 1917 (which established double consonants wherever the pronunciation is with double consonant, such definite forms as *geita*, and much more) is the expression of an effort to strengthen the Riksmåal in the competition with the Landsmaal by giving it a better written form (p. 5). And it would appear that in the Oplandet districts at any rate the reform is about to put a check to the further growth of the Landsmaal there. Here in America the Reform of 1917 has been received with anything but enthusiasm; but we should realize that we are far away and that we cannot know the conditions and the present needs as can those who are in the midst of things over there. An absolute dictum for the use of the definite ending *-a* in feminines (in such words as *skrifta*, hence *skrifta*, *bok*, *boka*, etc.), and some other things, seem objectionable to most of us; but the purely orthographic features are surely, for the most part, reasonable, and we should be ready to accept most of these. Alnæs calls attention to the proposal of the Committee of the Authors of Textbooks, which in a measure modifies the Reform in regard to the ending *-a*, and leaves a considerable range of choice, as e.g., *lia* or *lien*, and many others.

NORSK GRAMMATIKK I RIKSMÅL, EFTER DEN NYE RETTSKRIVNING. For folkeskolen og ungdomsskoler. Ved Kr. M. Nøstdal. 4de oplag, 1920, 5te oplag, 1922. p. 48.

This is an outline of the elements of Norwegian grammar as affected by the orthographic reform of Dec. 21, 1917. Also for the teachers of Norwegian in the schools and colleges in this country, this little book should be serviceable. I select four matters that are affected by the Reform. 1, the diphthongs: in addition to those already established (words like *beite*, *grei*, *haug*, etc., and here belongs also *høi*, noun) the rule is given: 'I navn på hjemlige dyr og planter bør formen med tvelyd ha fortrinnet' (hence: *geit*, *gauk*, etc.), and: 'det samme gjelder for hjemlige naturforhold og for landsens liv og stell' (hence *tiurleik*, *graut*, *sleiv*, etc.). But many words retain the simple vowel (especially before *m*, *st*, and *r*), as *drøm*, *søm*, *sirøm*, *høst*, *røst*, *øst*, *erø*, *høre*, *kjøpe*, *rør*, *lørdrag*, *fløte* *sple*, *nød*, *økt*, *del*, *dele*, *hele*, *peke*, *døpe*, *løpe*, *mer*, etc. 2, doubling of the consonant finally, except *m* (hence retain *skam*, *dom*, *drøm*, etc. Minor words with weak stress are written as before: *at* (conj), *den*, *din*, *en*, *et*, *igjen*, *hun*, *hun*, *hen*, *man* (pron.), *men*, *min*, *kun*, *nok*, *sin*, *skal*, *til*, *vel*, and *vil*. *Kan* and *kann* are, both allowable. 3, old *-ds*-when pronounced *-ts*-is to be written *-ts*: hence *krets*, *palais*, *plutselig*, *struts*, but old *-ds*-when pronounced *-ss*-is to be written *-ss*: hence *hissig*, *kloss*, *morass*, *plass*, *pussig*, *risse*, *smuss*, *spiss*, *slusse*, etc., as also *best*, *minst*, *sist*. 4. 'Den bestemte hunkjønnsform med artikkelen = *a* brukes særnorske ord for hjemlige dyr og planter, hjemlige naturforhold, landsens liv og stel,' and the words *kua*, *geita*, *kjella*, *eika*, etc., are cited. The def. *-en* is considered allowable only if one does not use the specifically Norwegian form, as *bro* or *led*, then correctly *broen*, and *leden*, etc. The Committee on Textbooks recommends regarding the feminine form the right of choice between the *-a* and the *-en* form in a large number of words (as *budeien* or *budeia*; *bygden* or *bygda*; *elven* or *eiva*; *grenden* or *grenda*, *grinden* or *grinda*, *hytten* or *hytta*, etc.

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A BOOK OF DANISH VERSE, Translated in the original meters by S. Foster Damon and Robert Silliman Hillyer. Selected and Annotated by Oluf Friis. New York, The American-Scandinavian Foundation, London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1922.

When Georg Brandes expressed the opinion that lyrical poetry is untranslatable but is often translated he meant that it is impossible for the most skillful and sympathetic translator to enter fully into the spirit of the original, to reproduce the exact tones of the original poet. It is very much the same as with language itself. Probably no adult ever absolutely masters a foreign language, so as to speak it as if he were to the manner born. However familiar he may be with the foreign tongue, even to the extent of speaking it more fluently than his native language, his speech will betray him.

Granting this major premise, we must not expect to find in this latest anthology of Danish verse in an English rendering an exact reproduction of

the original. Correctness of meaning, the first requirement of any translation, whether in prose or verse, there is. At least, no errors of this kind have been noted. The promise of the title page that the original meters will be preserved is also met. The characteristic note of the individual poet is often captured, too, with remarkable skill and several of the renderings may be safely compared to the best of Longfellow's renderings, the supreme test of any translation from the Scandinavian. Not all of the renderings are equally successful, but it would be unreasonable to expect the same high level of excellence in so large a number of selections. Even Longfellow shows a comparative failure in his version of Baggesen's *Da jeg var lille*.

The second selection, Oehlenschläger's *The Golden Horns*, is an admirable example of the poet's early manner admirably rendered. The first stanza reads as follows:

They pry in pages
Of ancient sages,
They search in the glooms
Of mounded tombs,
On swords and shields
In ruined fields,
On runic stones
Among crumbled bones.

It is almost inevitable that Oehlenschläger should be given the lion's share here, as is the case with *Poets and Poetry of Europe*. The first twenty-nine pages, or about one sixth of the whole volume, are devoted to the leading Danish poet of the nineteenth century. Here, as elsewhere, the choice of material seems to be based upon a twofold principle, to select characteristic and beautiful pieces and to avoid, as far as possible, poems that have already been successfully rendered into English. This latter principle undoubtedly accounts for the absence of a number of old favorites, which would be sure to find a place in an anthology in the original.

The contrast between the poems with which the book opens and those with which it closes is startling. I should, however, take exception to the claim made in the "jacket" that this last poet, Johannes V. Jensen, is "the greatest figure in Danish poetry since Oehlenschläger," though some enthusiastic modernists, paraphrasing Whistler, might say "Why drag in Oehlenschläger?" It would perhaps be proper to say that he is more cosmopolitan than any of his predecessors, but I doubt whether he shows as profound a probing of the human heart as does Paludan-Müller in *Adam Homo*, or as delicate an appreciation of love and nature as does Christian Winther in many of his lyrics. It is certain, however, that the first poem by which Jensen is represented in our volume is the least Danish poem, in its form and atmosphere, of the whole collection. *At Memphis Station* describes not the ancient city of Egypt but Memphis, Tennessee, U. S. A. and the translation reads like an original poem by Carl Sandburg or Vachel Lindsay. Jensen, the youngest of the group of living poets represented, furnishes the only examples of free verse, which does not seem to be so popular in Denmark

as in Germany. The general character of the Memphis poem is sufficiently indicated by the opening. It may be added of it that if you like that sort of thing this is the sort of thing you will like.

Half-awake and half-dozing,
in an inward seawind of danaid dreams,
I stand and gnash my teeth
at Memphis Station, Tennessee.
It is raining.

Besides the two poets already mentioned, eighteen are represented, the number being evenly divided between the earlier and the later poets, the latter beginning with J. P. Jacobsen. The only important omission from the earlier poets that was noted was that of Carl Ploug, though room might have been found for Kaalund's exquisite *Paa det Jevne*. Valdemar Rørdam is undoubtedly of equal rank with several of the later poets who are included.

The explanatory notes are brief and well chosen, dealing in the main with bibliographical facts. As mention is made of Oehlenschläger's collection of *Digte* from 1803 in connection with two of the poems it would have been better to state that *Sancthansaften-Spil* appeared in the same volume. Hauch's first poem was published in a volume entitled *Lyriske Digte og Romancer*, which included the ballad-cycle of which this poem is a part. The complete date of Grundtvig's *Sang-Værk* is 1837-1841. In the first stanza of the extract from Paludan-Müller's *The Dancer* the rime scheme differs slightly from that of the original, but this is in correction of the Danish. This poem, by the way, was published in 1833, not 1832, and *Ahasverus* appeared in 1854, not 1853, as stated in the notes. The statement that Jacobsen's *En Arabesk* was written in 1862, when the poet was only fifteen years old, looks suspicious, though I am not in a position to deny it.

But the few errors noted are all of slight importance and the final word about the volume should be one of appreciation of its fine qualities of translation, editing, and, it may be added, of printing; and its appearance cannot fail to win many admirers of Danish verse.

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DÄNISCHES HEIDENTUM. Kultur und Sprache, vol. 2. By Gudmund Schütte, Carl Winter, Heidelberg, 1923.

To all but a few, Scandinavian paganism means the mythology of the Eddas and the customs of the sagas. The special Icelandic-Norwegian field dominates, and the Danish is almost forgotten. Investigators have, however, for many years studied special phases of Danish spiritual life and beliefs in early times; but Gudmund Schütte is the first to attempt a general survey of the field in a somewhat popular presentation. His first survey, *Hjemligt Hedenskab*, 1919, has now been followed by a somewhat shorter, revised German version *Dänisches Heidentum* which recently appeared from the press of Carl Winter.

From a logical beginning with the first religious and spiritual conceptions arising from such common, but to primitive man inexplicable, phenomena as sleep-walking, dreams, night-mare, telepathetic experiences, and hypnotism, the author passes on through the various developments of pagan life to the great "god-world" of the Vanir and Aesir that dominated at the time of the introduction of Christianity.

In his study Schütte makes use of all the evidence available, direct and indirect, in the works of late classical and mediaeval historians, in archeological finds, runic inscriptions, the Danish material in the Icelandic-Norwegian literature, and especially in place-names, and present-day superstitions, customs, and folklore. The lack of space has often led to dogmatic statements that will not convince the "unbeliever," though they may serve to stir him to test the theories. To illustrate, I may mention the reference to Skuld, on page 40: "Skuld, the eponym of the Skjoldungs, exceeds all other local Scandinavian "dísir" in fame. As befits a "dís," she appears with changing functions: 1. as Danish princess with so-called mortal nature; 2. as valkyrie; 3. as one of the World-Fates. Investigation has merely failed to recognize the identity of the different forms." The brief explanation that follows is not convincing. A second example might be the implicit acceptance of Fraser's theory of the "killing of the god" and its application to many specific legendary instances; for example, regarding the death of King Adils (O. E. Eadgils) of *Yngl. Saga*, ch. 33, it is said, "diese schwedische Sage ist vielleicht die Verkleidung eines rituellen Selbstmords." Why?

With chapter 7 begins a valuable survey of what one might call the different strata of Germanic gods. The linguistic evidence is briefly given for a common Germanic—and often Indo-Germanic—cosmic conception in earliest times, with the worship of the Heavens, the Earth, the Sun and the Moon, and natural forces. We have evidence, though slight, of a period next of the worship of gods in animal figures. Survivals of this are seen in Frey's boar and Thor's goats. This is followed by the worship of the Vanir, gods representing fertility and peace, who have come to Scandinavia from South Eastern Europe,¹ and hold their own till Christian times though partly superseded by the "invasion" of the Aesir from Western Europe, a more warlike group better suited to the spirit of the "Völkerwanderung." The book closes with a very short outline of *Sorcerers, Priests, and the Divine Worship*.

The whole is a well-planned and consistently developed study. Though not so readable as such a work might be, it does give a not heavy introduction to an exceedingly difficult field. The Danish version above referred to is on the whole better reading both because of a somewhat fuller presentation and because of the greatly superior paper and print. The present edition is, of course, newer and more up-to-date.

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¹ This analysis is based on the work of Neckel.